The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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Published weekly and copyrighted, 1937, in the United States, by the Calvert Publishing Corporation, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. United States: $5.00; Canada: $5.50; Foreign: $6.00. Single copies: $.10.

VOLUME XXVII — Friday, January 14, 1938 — NUMBER 12

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FACING FACTS IN 1938

WILL our people accept and put into practise the principles of social justice throughout the current year?

This is the dominant question of the hour. Having carefully studied President Roosevelt's address to Congress on the state of the Union, we are of the opinion that three alternatives lie before us. The first involves a repudiation of the New Deal philosophy of government. The second entails a titanic and tragic struggle in which the present administration will attempt, by increasingly severe regulation, to achieve those adjustments in the economic order which it deems necessary. The third envisions voluntary, unselfish cooperation on the part of government and all classes of society to the end that a greater measure of social justice may be secured for all our people.

"Government," Mr. Roosevelt declared, "has a final responsibility for the well-being of its citizenship. If private cooperative endeavor fails to promote work for willing hands and relief for the unfortunate, those suffering hardship from no fault of their own have a right to call upon the government for aid; and a government worthy of its name must make fitting response."

It may well be that private cooperative enterprise is trying to provide jobs for as many people as possible; but this laudable ambition was certainly not fostered and encouraged by the rabble-rousing speeches of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ickes. Why were they made? What was the purpose of sending up those unfortunate trial balloons? The rather ludicrous attempt was made to blame business for the current recession. Business cannot escape its share of censure. But the New Deal itself is by no means blameless.

For our part, we will continue to support President Roosevelt's program only in so far as, in our opinion, it measures up to the objective standards of social justice. At the same time, we

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will labor to the best of our ability to destroy the rampant neo-paganism in America and to substitute in its place a passionate love of justice and charity. Without these fundamental virtues, Christianity is a hollow mockery and democracy a pathetic illusion.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Roosevelt will, in the future, restrain Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ickes. Similar preachments on the part of too ardent New Dealers serve only to arouse class hatred, suspicion and distrust and complicate the serious business of finding a way out of our difficulties.

Mr. Roosevelt succeeded, so far as was possible under the circumstances, in dispelling the notion—in some minds a positive conviction—that the present administration would like nothing better than to declare a general vendetta against all business. He assured Congress and the nation that every effort will be made to give honest business, conducted with some regard for ethical standards, a fair chance to prosper and provide jobs under the existing competitive capitalistic system.

While the New Deal must not shirk its just share of the blame for the current business recession, there are certain vicious practises which Mr. Roosevelt rightly believes should be ended at once.

"They include," he pointed out, "tax avoidance through corporate and other methods; excessive capitalization, investment write-ups and security manipulations; price rigging and collusive bidding in defiance of the spirit of the anti-trust laws by methods which baffle prosecution under the present statutes. They include high pressure salesmanship which creates cycles of overproduction within given industries and consequent recessions in production until such time as the surplus is consumed; the use of patent laws to enable large corporations to maintain high prices and withhold from the public the advantages of the progress of science; unfair competition which drives the smaller producer out of business locally, regionally or even on a national scale; intimidation of local or state government to prevent the enactment of laws for the protection of labor by threatening to move elsewhere; the shifting of actual production from one locality or region to another in pursuit of the cheapest wage scale."

There is widespread agreement that these short-sighted abuses should not be permitted to continue because they are a serious blow to the whole fabric of society. On the other hand, we are very glad that Mr. Roosevelt conceded the point that certain taxes which work definite hardship, particularly to the small business men of the nation, should be modified. Cooperation between business and government implies strict adherence on both sides to those standards of justice and fair play which are the foundation-stones of American democracy.

Mr. Roosevelt also emphasized the fact that definite strides in collective bargaining have been made and that the right of labor to organize has been nationally recognized.

"Nevertheless," he declared, "in the evolution of the process difficult situations have arisen in localities and among groups. Unfortunate divisions relating to jurisdiction among the workers themselves have retarded production within given industries, and have, therefore, affected related industries. The construction of homes and other buildings has been hindered in some localities not only by unnecessarily high prices for materials, but also by certain hourly wage scales."

Labor likewise must make its contribution to the common good in the serious crisis which now confronts the nation. We have not surrendered hope that the two great labor organizations in this country will adjust their differences in rational fashion and fully accept the responsibilities that are inseparable from their rights under the system of collective bargaining. Serious thought should also be given by labor leaders and the public generally to the suggestion of an annual wage for workers to take the place of payment by the hour or the day.

Referring to agriculture, Mr. Roosevelt stressed the need for crop control and placed the primary responsibility on the farmers themselves to decide, under the principle of majority rule and with full knowledge of the facts of surpluses, scarcities, world markets and domestic needs, "what the planting of each crop should be in order to maintain a reasonably adequate supply which will assure a minimum adequate price under the normal processes of the law of supply and demand."

Mr. Roosevelt called upon all groups and classes—capital, labor, the farmer and the consumer—to accept and live up to their various responsibilities and to cooperate with government in defeating the business recession. We feel reasonably sure that government will cooperate fairly and without prejudice with these closely related groups to achieve the same end.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

POPULAR FRONT government in France achieved a notable victory in bringing to an end a serious general strike of public service employees which was demanded by certain radical elements without the support of the majority of the workers. Premier Chautemps's government refused to negotiate before the men returned to work and insisted that it would not tolerate the cessation of essential services. It is believed that satisfactory adjustments can now be made in modifying the applica-

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tion of the forty-hour week. French foreign policy, however, suffered a severe blow in the surprise appointment of Octavian Goga, pro-Nazi leader of the National Christian party, to the Premiership of Rumania. Recent events in that country compel us to revise judgments formed shortly after the return of M. Delbos to Paris. At that time it appeared that the French Foreign Minister had achieved an outstanding diplomatic triumph in strengthening the ties between France and the Little Entente. It now appears that Rumania will try to keep on good terms with both Paris and Berlin but may soon join the Fascist bloc. General Hermann Goering, Nazi Air Minister, will shortly visit Bucharest. We may then expect positive clarification of Rumania's foreign policy.

Labor Questions

MOST people agree, in a general sort of way, that nothing in America will have more effect on the character of 1938 than the labor movement. It remains difficult, however, to ask significant questions about what that effect is likely to be. The main reason for this is that the labor movement in our country is still altogether implicated in every other movement. American labor has so far tended to react more than to act: it reacts to the change in the volume of profits, to the programs of politicians and statesmen, to the ambitions and contests of labor leaders, the decisions of courts, acts of legislators and to the specific hiring and firing and particular wage and personnel actions of individual business managers. The most important thing American labor could do during 1938 would be to take up a program of its own, assert its own creative power and supply the impulse to social development where now it primarily responds. But it appears doubtful, now more than a few months ago, that labor will take up in any broad fashion a politics or a philosophy of labor during this year. Externally labor's effect will be significant but probably negative or reciprocal. The internal policies of labor unions are also of prime importance to the country. Assuming the trade union objectives of higher wages, lower hours and stronger organization—as near the closed shop as possible—it is sensible to ask what ratio of union resources will go to education and what to picketing, strike benefits, regular organizers, etc. How many and how bitter jurisdictional disputes will there be? How much will one union help another in dealing with employers? To what extent will unions make themselves productive factors in their own industries? Union men cannot help asking themselves such questions; there would be more constructive unity and understanding if everybody thought about them as calmly and realistically as possible.

The Scholar's Place

ONE OF the things about scholars is that they can learn. For an almost indefinite period the public chided professors for being absent-minded, for forgetting life and avoiding the mainstream of social movement. But they have obviously reformed. Learned societies filled the newspapers over the holidays, and few of the monographs reported smelled of the oil. Scholars had their say about every sort of vital question, led by the dusty archeologists who found contemporary lessons in Themistocles's Greece. (The Greeks stuffed ballot boxes.) It is a devastating fact, however, that scholars in their ivory towers are experts; when they venture into the streets they are very likely to be less expert than a taxi-driver whose particular field they invade without having his experience or philosophic contemplation. Without being anti-intellectualist we can commend the warning of Dr. Gove Hambige, delivered to the American Association for the Advancement of Science: "The fact that a man is a scientist is no guarantee that he may not be narrow, prejudiced, ignorant and stubborn in fields outside his own specialty." Scientists should emerge into the world only as philosophers and not until they are philosophers. Their premature entry during the Renaissance and especially in the nineteenth century was a major stumbling block to progress—a word they misdefined with unbelievable stubbornness. Apparently they are becoming more mature. This year the scholars didn't sound chastened, but they did appear sincere and free, and conscious of at least some of the threats to those qualities which their ancestors were not guiltless of bringing into the world.

Unemployment Census

IT IS very difficult to estimate the practical value of the unemployment census for one week in November which recorded the total number of jobless to be at that time between 7,882,912 and 10,870,000. John D. Biggers, who ably conducted the investigation, emphasized the obvious fact that unemployment has risen considerably since the census was taken. He also directed attention to the variable character of the census, due to wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes unemployment. The unemployed, he indicated, may be divided into two classes: those who always work, when work is available, regardless of their immediate economic status, and those to whom unemployment is a status depending on their current inclinations and temporary economic conditions. The census has undoubtedly focused national attention upon the problem and may result, as Mr. Biggers urged, in the formulation of a long-range program of re-employment. Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to save American families from dire

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need. But the nation is not thereby absolved from the obligation of trying to achieve an economic order that will provide jobs for those who need employment and are willing and able to work.

AN ALMOST perfect example of what not to do in working out a difference between the school and the home, appears in the news item recording a "strike threat" by pupils in the small New Jersey town of Cliffside Park. This type of thing, of course, has become monotonous in the last few months. Few of us pause to note the exact details of any fresh student strike, having already perceived that they are in the main mere examples of useless contagion, like measles. However, two features make this situation stand out: the strike is being instigated by a body named the Progressive Parents' Council; and the school board is meeting the threat with counter-threats which suggest the more violent sections of the labor war at a moment of crisis. We do not know, and at the moment we do not care, whether the Progressive Parents are justified in demanding bus service for their children, or whether the board is justified in refusing it. If the board really cannot afford a bus, and the average walking distance really is a mile and a quarter, we vote with the board. But that is not even remotely the point. Parents who incite "youths between the ages of nine and twelve" to go on a school strike for anything less than a vital principle, defensible in no other way, are starting something they will assuredly have to finish—albeit many years later—in grief and tears. On the other hand, a school board which gives out public statements running to the uttermost length of the law, interlarded with summonses, disorderly conduct, court action and prison, has an extraordinary conception indeed of its place in the community. We have always believed in democracy; we still believe in it. But we admit that a thing like this is a grim test. Citizens who cannot work out a civilized, acceptable technique for solving an immediate local difficulty have a problematic value as counselors on the larger issues involving the national destiny. We can but hope that some voice of sanity and common sense has been raised in Cliffside Park since that community last made the news.

An Excellent Bad Example

WE WISH to congratulate the National Service Bureau of the Federal Theatre Project upon the publication of the first of a series of listings of Catholic plays that have been produced professionally either in this country or abroad, plays that have attracted unusual critical attention, plays which are most likely to be of immediate interest to ambitious non-professional groups. The test in each case was whether the story definitely projects and reflects the Catholic tradition in the theatre and whether it is a competent piece of craftsmanship. The inclusion in the list of Eugene O'Neill's "Days without End," Shaw's "St. Joan," Brian Doherty's "Father Malachy's Miracle" and Marcus Bach's "Within These Walls" is open to discussion. They were included, however, at the specific request of Emmet Lavery who felt that "they fell reasonably within the Catholic tradition in the theatre." We are informed that the Catholic Theatre Conference, having found itself in disagreement with some of the plays produced by the Federal Theatre Project, is happy to commend this constructive work.

Mask and Bauble

THE JANUARY 3 issue of the New York *Times* presents a paper by Paul de Kruif, as useful as it is interesting, on the proposed technique of the new national infantile paralysis foundation. Professor de Kruif's special qualifications for analyzing scientific procedure are matched by his clear and sincere way of putting his thoughts on paper. Even relatively uninformed readers will be able to follow his exposition in the *Times* with interest and profit. He explains that the new foundation, on which so much of the nation's most desperate hope is centered, will work flexibly to aid to the maximum extent any community threatened by the scourge, or desirous of intensive health education against it. It will not, in his own words, "seek to regiment the fight on these various sectors of the battle, but its scientific men will survey and keep in constant contact with the needs of local fighters in every part of the country, and then aid all those competent to carry on the scientific public health, medical and surgical war." Meanwhile, the threatened community's doctors and nurses "will be the shock troops in the fight." Professor de Kruif utters a wholesome warning of the multifold ignorance still afflicting science regarding poliomyelitis, but reminds us of certain definite lines of progress: the ability to make a quick diagnosis by analysis of the spinal fluid, and to act promptly enough to prevent deformities; the marvelous advance in ameliorative measures; the very considerable advance in preventative measures through the use of zinc sulphate nasal sprays. His survey, though brief, is full of fact and full of sensibly based hope. Reading it, one sees that the country possesses tremendous resources in the way of knowledge and devotion—resources which, properly financed and mobilized, as they now will be, should spell the end (though perhaps in the far future) of one of the most tragically devastating plagues from which we have ever suffered.

Infantile Paralysis Foundation

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ROOSEVELT'S REVERSES

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

NO AMERICAN President began a second term under conditions more favorable than those which faced Franklin Delano Roosevelt in January, 1936. Reelected by a landslide victory, he was titular head of a party that commanded huge majorities in both Senate and House. The 1936 sweep had reduced the political opposition in Congress to the status of a negligible minority, and the impressive popular vote of confidence in the administration had further strengthened the President's strategic position. No President, indeed, could have asked for a better "set-up."

In the twelve months that have elapsed since Chief Justice Hughes, before the eyes of a rain-soaked crowd, administered the presidential oath of office, Mr. Roosevelt has suffered a long series of reverses. Though he still enjoys substantial, albeit somewhat diminished, popular prestige, he no longer occupies the commanding position which was his a year ago.

Several factors have contributed, during the past year, to weaken the President's controls. The proposal to enlarge the membership of the Supreme Court created a sharp division among congressional Democrats, and the division is as wide today as it was six month ago. The revolt of Southern Democrats against the labor standards bill, the resistance to the new agricultural control bill, the sidetracking of regional planning, federal reorganization, and other measures whose enactment the administration hoped for at the special session, the innate hostility of conservative Democrats to the centralization of governmental authority in Washington, and the expansion of the federal bureaucracy—in all of these we see evidences of the division in the Democratic party. Without substantial party solidarity on Capitol Hill, there can, of course, be no effective presidential leadership.

A second factor that has contributed to Mr. Roosevelt's present embarrassments is the business recession. In issuing his call for the Seventy-fifth Congress to meet in special session, the President could hardly have foreseen the sharp economic tailspin of the late autumn months. When Congress assembled in Washington for the special session on November 15, business problems, rather than a continuation of reform legislation, held its main interest. Enthusiasm for reform had noticeably cooled, and there was comparatively little interest in three of the President's four legislative proposals for the special session—wage and hour legislation, farm control, regional planning. As a measure calculated to give faltering industry an immediate stimulus, the housing bill alone won general acclaim. In the current business lag, opponents of the New Deal see a justification of their previous predictions that the New Deal could not achieve lasting prosperity. The natural effect of the decline has been to stiffen the resistance of conservative Democrats to the Roosevelt program.

The fact that another congressional election is pending has also tended to weaken the President's control over members of his own party. If times were booming, business all along the line again making profits, and employment following an upward rather than a downward curve, congressional Democrats, as election year approaches, would be glad to travel under Mr. Roosevelt's umbrella. The prosperity inducement for this is lacking today. A recession exists, and since September, according to WPA figures, more than 2,000,000 men and women have lost their jobs.

In hard times, the party in power invariably gets the blame. Though Mr. Roosevelt himself is spared the test, all House members, and one-third the membership of the Senate, face the re-election hurdle next year. Palpably uneasy over the political implications of a recovery set-back, many Democrats have opposed the enactment, at this time, of new "reform" measures. The legislative uncertainties in Washington, and the possibility of added controls and increased labor costs through the enactment of such measures as the labor standards bill have contributed to the present business and industrial hesitancy. If economic conditions do not measurably improve by next fall, Democratic strategists realize full well that the party's representation in Congress may be sharply reduced in 1938. This explains, in part, the reluctance of many Democrats to follow the President.

A move for a business recovery coalition in the Senate was a notable feature of the special session. Led by Arthur Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, and Senator Josiah W. Bailey, Democrat of North Carolina, a group of senators representing both parties formulated an "Address to the American People." In this document, the coalitionists urged prompt congressional action to relieve business, with the repeal of the surplus profits and capital gains taxes, the balancing of the federal budget, and a drastic slash in federal expenditures. Though premature publicity prevented the coalitionists from winning the support of as many senators as they otherwise might have

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obtained, the business coalition idea, it is generally conceded, has been planted on Capitol Hill. As a matter of fact, ever since the historic fight over the Supreme Court bill, Republicans and anti-administration Democrats in the Senate have been cooperating in an unofficial alliance. Though a coalition may place formidable obstacles in the path of the pending reform measures, it should nevertheless be of real assistance to the President in one of his major objectives—a balanced budget, and a reduction in federal expenditures.

Can the President, during the regular session, reassert his leadership, badly battered during the past twelve months? The question, in its answer, is of high political importance.

Mr. Roosevelt, however, faces no easy task. Increasing unemployment will bring a revival of demands for federal pump-priming expenditures on a large scale. Both the President and Secretary Morgenthau, in recent months, have indicated a serious determination to reduce federal expenditures, and bring the national budget into approximate balance next year, after seven years of large recurring deficits.

In a letter to Chairman Cartwright of the House Committee on Roads, the President on December 23, opposing heavy federal expenditures for roads, warned Congress to save, and declared that "the administration is making an honest effort to cut the budget down to a figure which will closely approximate the estimated tax receipts. That means that we ought to cut off appropriations which may be desirable, but which are not essential."

Business men and others have long urged the balancing of the budget as a move essential to a revival of business confidence, without which there can be no general industrial advance. The habit of spending is today deeply rooted on Capitol Hill, and a move for federal retrenchment will face the stout resistance of the spending blocs.

In the present division in the Democratic party, Mr. Roosevelt faces another problem. Though he has held out an olive branch to the private utilities, and though he is seeking the cooperation of business in reviving the construction industry through the new housing legislation, Mr. Roosevelt has no intention of sounding a retreat on his social aims. Involving as it does a fundamental recasting of the American social and economic order, the New Deal program continues to divide the Democratic party, and Mr. Roosevelt is not likely to find the Democratic Congress more amenable to his will this year than he did in 1937.

A contest for control of the Democratic party in 1940 is already under way. Whether Mr. Roosevelt is willing to accept a third term renomination or not, he will want a standard-bearer sympathetic with New Deal philosophy and its objectives. In this, he will no doubt have the backing of Democratic liberals. Conservative Democrats, by the same token, hope to take over the direction of the party two years hence, choose their own ticket and write their own platform. The success of the President's effort this year to reestablish his legislative controls, in large measure, therefore, will determine the future orientation of the party's policies. If conservative Democrats overthrow the leadership of the executive, and are backed in this by the rank and file of their followers in the 1938 congressional elections, it may presage, in 1940, the recapture by conservatives of the party machinery.

Of more immediate importance from the President's point of view, as the regular session opens, is the challenge of the current business recession. If economic conditions go from bad to worse, if unemployment continues to increase, if private capital remains in fearful hiding, if industrial profits are replaced by losses, the New Deal must accept the brand of failure. Like all experiments, whether political or otherwise, it will be judged by its results, and more specifically by its success in bringing to the American people the prosperity, the confidence and security which its spokesmen have promised. As the New Year opens, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt is headed for his greatest test, and on the ability of the administration to reverse the downward economic spiral may well depend the place of the New Deal in history: whether an enduring success, or a house builded on quicksand.

Though the President no longer holds the commanding position which was his a year ago, his recent reverses by no means represent a decisive defeat, nor do they necessarily imply that the end of the New Deal is approaching. He still enjoys a wide measure of popular support, large enough, perhaps, to turn the flank of his congressional opponents on some pending issues. He is personally more popular, most observers concede, than his policies, and personal popularity is a great asset to any American President in his dealings with Congress. Though business chafes under government control, and is apprehensive over the state of federal finances, the President's fight in behalf of the underprivileged, his drive for better working conditions, and a more equitable distribution of national wealth, make a continuing appeal to legions of voters. Another prolonged major depression at this time would of course be Mr. Roosevelt's political death sentence. The basic forces for recovery, however, are strong, and there is a tendency perhaps to overlook them. The unfilled physical needs of the American people, depleted inventories, a national buying power more than 50 percent above the depression low, our vast natural resources, increasing exports and, perhaps most important of all, the energy and initiative and character of the American people, and the determination of the average American

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to win a high standard of living for himself and his family—these and other assets may be placed on the credit side of the national ledger. If recovery, stalled momentarily, gains momentum again in the near future, Mr. Roosevelt's present troubles may disappear, and his administration move forward again under sunny skies.

During his first term, President Roosevelt was confronted by no serious challenge in Congress to his leadership. During the past year, though his party majorities continue to run about 4-1 in both Houses, a bi-partizan opposition has emerged potent enough to assure a more careful consideration of the administration's legislation proposals, and strong enough also to prevent the enactment of some of them. From the point of view of efficient government, this is a wholesome development, for lack of a real opposition earlier prevented a thorough examination of many New Deal measures, with the result that a good deal of faulty legislation was placed on the statute books.

The emergence of this bi-partizan opposition on Capitol Hill, reflecting as it does a decline in the New Deal's popular support, should have a restraining effect on the President and his administration. The period of executive domination seems to be passing, as Congress again asserts its legislative independence. This is the real significance of the developments on Capitol Hill during the past year, as a result of which the constitutional balance between the three coordinate branches of the government has been restored.

A PLEA FOR PATTERNS

By BLANCHE JENNINGS THOMPSON

"HONOR all men; love the brotherhood; fear God; honor the King." So Paul sets before us the perfect pattern of the good life. Individual worth, social justice, economic security, moral and material controls are all implied. Life's many complexes are reduced to a few great simplicities; stark and strong they stand for all to see. Tennyson, paraphrasing Paul, says it another way, "Live pure, speak truth, right the wrong, honor the King, else wherefore born?" Wherefore indeed?

We frequently hear that this is a changing world and that children must be taught to live in it. Actually all that changes in man is his folly; therein he shows the greatest ingenuity. Basically, his thoughts and emotions, his fears and hates, his loves and his loyalties, are much the same as they have always been. He has learned a number of clever tricks with machines, but he neglects to provide for his soul; he is master of earth and sea and sky, but himself he cannot or will not master.

Paul accused the Atheneans of always running after some new thing. He would tell us the same today. We modern Americans love catch words. A new slogan will turn sawdust into gold for us. Writers and speakers mouth the current jargon, and the man in the street repeats it. One of our favorite words is democracy. There are those who think of it concretely as a country where anyone can do as he pleases with no man to say him nay, rather than a place where many frequently and voluntarily give up their own will that others may have theirs. True democracy is built on restraints and disciplines placed by the individual upon himself. Many a rabid democrat is only a dictator turned inside out. He would compel all members to take part in the affairs of every organization from the bridge club to the federal government. Now some people do not like to lead; they are better fitted for following. Isn't it then democratic to permit them to follow if they wish—to teach them how to choose good leaders and be good followers?

Young people have as much potential good in them as ever. They are bewildered and hungry for spiritual guidance. We hear much of collectivism, of community enterprises, of cooperation. Before any of these can become effective, we need more individual goodness, more personal responsibility. We need an aristocracy of conduct which shall make the good life the normal life. We need brave and generous leadership, not only in high places, but in our homes. If society is to be made better, improvement must start at the bottom. The home is the natural community; the parents are the natural patterns.

Even the most thoughtful of us incline overmuch to the ideal. We yearn to do good in far-off places and neglect the opportunities at our door. Who dare speak of world peace who cannot keep peace in his home? What man dare criticize law enforcement if he permits his son to evade the restrictions of a junior motor license or buys "bootleg" fireworks for his child when the law forbids the sale of them? Who dare cry for honest government who himself partakes of the spoils of petty graft or spends money on gambling devices while he owes his grocer, his doctor or his dentist? Who dares to advocate social justice if he shows not charity to the poor of his own immediate circle, his neighbors, his dependent relatives, and the servants in his house?

We easy-going Americans unwittingly perhaps cheat our children. We cheat them often out of

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what would seem a natural right, the right to a good example. If parents either do not go to church at all or take only a perfunctory part in religious activities, there is little use in sending the children to Sunday School or expecting them to be interested in religious movements for youth. If parents indulge in the "cocktail hour" or take the wheel of a car after a round of drinks, the children will not be likely to regard sobriety as a virtue or drunken driving as a crime. If parents read questionable literature, children will seek nothing better. Curiously enough, it is often those we call the "privileged homes" that set the least admirable patterns.

In the golden days of the guilds, the boy learned his craft from his father. He learned not only the tools of his trade, but concomitant lessons of honest workmanship, thoroughness, dependability, and that high integrity that scorns to give less than the best. Should we do less for children now? No longer does the home contain a potter's wheel or a weaver's loom, but the parents still are perpetuating family patterns. The unscrupulous lawyer teaches his son to love expediency rather than right; the dishonest merchant teaches his son to cheat; and the wasteful and careless housekeeper is a bad example to her daughter.

Perhaps it may seem that the impossible is expected of parents. Well, parenthood is a high calling, and those who accept the responsibility must bear its burdens as well as enjoy its privileges and compensations. The normal home should be one in which cheerfulness, consideration and responsible sharing of joys and sorrows is the rule. Children should not be cheated out of their childhood by too early participation in the activities and amusements of an adult world—by aping the dress and manners of their elders, especially the current artificialities of the world of entertainment. They must not be so burdened with dancing lessons and riding lessons, modeling in style revues and practising for public appearances of one kind or another that there is no time for their minds and souls to grow. We legislate against long working hours for the underprivileged child, but the privileged child is frequently exploited by his own parents who would indignantly deny the charge and point to the "advantages" for which they pay a high price. So does the child.

It is well to remember that those of us who are not parents, but elders living in a household where there are children, bear the same responsibility for giving a good example. Those others, too, who enter the home vicariously by the creating or purveying of literature or entertainment must also give an account of their stewardship—and woe to him by whom scandal cometh! There are so many ways in which all of us can show the growing children how to live. We should bring back a better family life: prayers in common, if only grace at meals; good times with all the family sharing, such as old-fashioned games like "Authors" as well as the newer group games for indoors; simple birthday and holiday celebrations with love and kindness taking the place of caterers and florists; cheerful, intelligent conversation at the family table, setting a pattern for reasonable, tolerant exchange of opinion.

The child's little world must be a good world. There may be poverty, but there should be peace. Food for the body may be plain, but food for the soul must be abundant. There must be good books, good conversation, good standards of speech, good music, a culture that cherishes the growth of mind and soul and keeps the body under discipline. As the doors of the home open to the outside world, the child must learn to judge those whom he meets by what they say and read and do—not by what kind of car they drive or the cost of the clothes they wear. He must have standards by which to judge what the world offers and distinguish the true from the false. He must take from his home a pattern for living, a balanced design that is good because it is built around God.

Nearly all professions have their code of ethics. The higher the profession and the greater its unselfish service to humanity, the stricter becomes that code. Surely the profession of parent should be higher than all others and its ethical code most rigid. The rest of us too—the ones that the children are watching—where is our leadership tending? We have not been setting too perfect patterns of late. Perhaps we can do nothing better than to turn to Paul again as he urges us to responsible conduct, that by doing well we may "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free, and not as making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God." We must set the patterns of charity and honor, of courtesy and justice, of purity and truth. This is the counsel of perfection. This is the hope of the world.

A Winter's Wood

Whatever thing in nature waits for frost
To say the time of quiet is at hand,
Speech is the first in autumn to be lost;
Even before the breath of snow command,
The silence of the snow is in the land
And in the daily speech of doing chores.
We lean to listen while the horses stand.
We cannot have enough of out-of-doors.

There is a voice of axes in the hills;
The shout of seasoned birches where they fall
Rolls to the farthest range of earth and fills
The very walls of space. Listen, and call
Remembrances to mind of other snows
And thought that blossoms by the fire, and grows.

CHARLES MALAM.

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WHY ARMAMENTS?

By JOSEPH F. THORNING

EVERYBODY knows that the last five years have witnessed an enormous increase in armaments. The race to produce the most deadly weapons has reached every continent, including Australia and South America. Neither air nor land nor sea has been exempt from the competition. Bombing-planes of ten-ton capacity, pursuit-planes capable of a speed of three hundred miles an hour, motorized artillery units and powerful ocean-going submarines have been developed on a scale and with a perfection unparalleled in human history. The potentialities of poison gas stagger the imagination, while laboratories in far-off corners of the earth experiment with bacteriological and "death-ray" offensives. The technique of death on the battlefield has been put to the test in Africa, Asia and Europe. The arms industry is one that was never touched by the depression.

In spite of all this preoccupation with armies, navies and air fleets, there has been a surprising neglect of the human material that is required to operate the machine-guns, howitzers and tanks. In spite of promises of tastier food, homelike barracks and added hours of outdoor recreation, the young men of Great Britain, not excepting those in the most depressed areas of Wales and the Tyneside, are showing amazing sales resistance to the eloquence of brightly uniformed recruiting sergeants. In fact, it may be confidently predicted that the campaign to bring the British forces up to war strength will not stop short of the only method that has proved successful anywhere in the world, an invitation to "join up" backed by bayonets. This method is sometimes euphemistically termed conscription.

But will conscription itself fill up the ranks in the armies of tomorrow? Or will the air squadrons be directed by robot pilots, the dreadnoughts be manned by skeleton crews and the front-line trenches be held by members of the General Staff? Conscription supposes—but cannot create—the millions of young men whose destiny it is to face the cannon and machine-gun nests.

In other words, men are more important than armaments and it is sheer folly to concentrate upon new machinery of destruction at a time when the birth rate of the nations, conspicuous in the competition for bigger and better armies, is dropping with something like perpendicular rapidity. Great Britain, for example, whose current outlays for air and sea forces are prodigious, shows a progressive decline in population. The other day, in the House of Commons, one of the members, discussing the divorce bill, pointed out that, if the present trend continues, the number of people in the tight little isle will fall from 45,000,000 to 30,000,000. The same gentleman went on to startle his hearers, most of them Tory, big-navy men, that it was quite possible in certain circumstances that one hundred years from now would find the British population adding up to about 5,000,000.

Like most long-range calculations, this figure sounds extreme, but it should be considered in conjunction with the undoubted fact that family limitation is growing by leaps and bounds in the British Isles. The specter of overpopulation, conjured up by Thomas Malthus at the beginning of the last century, has been displaced by the none too pleasant prospect of underpopulation and a period of senile decay. What good are the guns without the gunners and their targets? Of course, the obvious retort is that both armaments and war are interlocking parts of one collective folly!

Even more startling is the situation in the Scandinavian countries, once a reservoir of manpower both for South Europe and the United States. Lately, Norway, Sweden and Denmark have adopted a policy, novel to them, of vastly increased armaments. Simultaneously, there has been a marked decline in the birth-rate! The census of school children just completed by the Swedish education officials as a preliminary to the reorganization of teachers' colleges indicates an altogether astounding decline in the number attending school. Fifteen years ago (in 1922), there were 920,000 children aged seven to fourteen in attendance at school. In December, 1937, this number had plummeted to a bare 600,000.

The report of the commission charged with this survey cautiously submitted the opinion that this sharp drop was largely due to the practise of birth control. The report did not state whether the birth control held responsible for this condition was due to voluntary abstinence, the method advocated by Malthus, or to the use of artificial means of contraception. At any rate, a decline of 33 1/3 percent in the number of children of school age is matter for serious thought to the champions of Nordic racial superiority.

In this connection, it is important to record the statement of Lancelot Hogben, a population expert of international reputation. He writes: "Beginning in England and Wales about the year 1875, the decline of the birth rate has been closely associated with the rise of neo-Malthusian propaganda. It has affected most those sections of

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society with access to contraceptives, while those regions which for religious reasons remain least affected by the spread of birth control have declined least."

This statement is not as reassuring as it sounds, at least in so far as it applies to the Catholics of the United States. The latter are largely concentrated in urban communities, where the powers of reproduction notoriously are on the decline. A recent study of over 42,000 women who lived in urban, village and rural communities of the East North Central States shows that fertility was in inverse proportion to their "social scale." The fertility rates standardized for age in the different classes of population were: "rural 270, village 220, moderately urban 193, and metropolitan 144."

On December 1, 1937, Dr. John L. Rice, New York Health Commissioner, announced that the city's birth rate had been declining uninterruptedly for eight weeks. The decline from 13.9 per 1,000 to 11.9 per 1,000 within the space of two months is abrupt enough to merit attention, especially when it is remembered that the majority of the people of New York are of the Christian and Jewish faiths. The result is striking enough to direct attention to the claims of birth control propagandists that more and more women are seeking advice at clinics for instruction in the use of contraceptives and that these clients are coming to such centers irrespective of their religious beliefs.

If this trend continues, the decline of population in the United States may set in at a much earlier date than has been heretofore suspected. Two factors suggest this conclusion. First, according to Dr. Louis I. Dublin, celebrated statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it requires an average family of four children to insure two persons reaching parenthood, necessary to replace parents. This is due to the fact that some do not marry, some married persons are sterile, and a portion of the offspring die. Second, a declining birth rate gradually reduces the proportion of persons of the reproductive age. This further decreases the birth rate and also in turn increases the death rate through multiplying the proportion of the aged.

When birth and death rates of the United States are adjusted on basis of age, sex and other factors, and applied to population, the consequent rate of increase is but 5 instead of an apparent 8 or 10—which an application of crude rates yields. The members of the so-called "upper classes" are not reproducing themselves. Instead of four children, the average family of a professional or business man of the higher income-tax brackets is less than two. As a well-known secular sociologist puts it, "Today population increase is practically disappearing in the western world, in spite of increasing food supply and improving means of combating disease."

The same authority goes on to suggest that the new factor which is so greatly modifying the old relationship between conditions of life and population density is birth control (contraception and abortion). Thus the birth rate, largely determined by "prudential factors," becomes even more than the death rate subject to human control.

As a result, children are coming to be regarded as an avoidable burden, much like destitute relatives! They are no longer viewed as the crown and blessing of married life. They are now "increasingly viewed as luxuries, to be budgeted and planned for just like a new motor car or a trip to Europe." This is the language of two university professors, Robert L. Sutherland of Bucknell and Julian L. Woodward of Cornell. These gentlemen proceed to point out that children often lose out in competition with other items, and childbearing is placed in the category of "future expenditures awaiting an increase in income" and postponed *sine die*.

Consequently, childless marriages are by no means uncommon, while one-child and two-child families are the rule rather than the exception. Of course, there have been immense advances made in maternity and infant care so that more mothers survive to bear more children and more babies live to adulthood, but this improvement in "procreative efficiency" cannot offset the "birth strike" among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie.

All this indicates that human ingenuity is outdoing itself in the struggle to produce new devices both to strangle life at its source and to blot out mankind in its prime. For young men are the chief victims fed to the Moloch of war. High explosives are being manufactured in phenomenal quantities to kill generations that may never be born! At any rate, mass-production is much more efficient in the realm of munitions than in the family circle. Machines are multiplying more rapidly than men. The need of the moment, however, is not machines, but men.

For Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J.

Hopkins, who found your inscape in the skies
Dappled by day, by night fire-citadels:
Dying for faith, you perished in no wise
So long as we can hear the subtle bells
Go chiming through the towers of your song:
The words, the rhythms that you broke apart
To find the heaven-haven: the cliffs, the long
Precipices on which broke your heart
In this harsh world whose harshness was your love;
The mind, too, has mountains: those you scaled
Show your high passage: there, beyond, above
The spent words, the spirit never failed.

GERARD PREVIN MEYER.

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THE VOCATION OF LIBERTY

By FRANÇOIS MAURIAC

WE REALIZE full well that present-day France is a disappointment to her foreign friends. It is only too easy to hold her up for censure. After a war in which so many nations participated, how can the world forgive a conqueror incapable of imposing lasting peace and order?

If France has seemed to totter under the staggering burden imposed upon her in her rôle of peace-maker, it was undoubtedly because she was overburdened before she assumed the rôle. But I look beyond any effort to justify her. I believe that France has not failed completely and that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, my country has not betrayed the essential part of her duty.

What is that duty? France has defended and continues to defend, against all opposition, in a Europe that is three-fourths hostile, the uncomfortable position of protecting political liberty and personal freedom.

Let us begin with what may be considered a banal statement, but it is one that I would like my foreign friends to ponder deeply to the extremities of its logical consequences. France is a country of free speech. It is a land where any man may come forth in support of his opinions without fear of being spied upon or gagged.

Therein lies our glory and our weakness. France is surrounded by states that are "policed," not in the old sense of the word, but in a new sense, by official agencies that assure the absolute domination of the party in power. Situated in her present precarious position, it is surprising, indeed, that France still stands firm, clinging faithfully to a conception of liberty that three-fourths of Europe scorns.

It shows a courage that touches on the miraculous. On one side of the frontier, one man makes decisions and acts unhampered by any restraint. On our side, we find party confusion, petty hatreds among opposing groups, parliamentary irresponsibility and the right accorded to certain citizens, by virtue of the freedom they enjoy, to advance the interests of our enemies. The situation is so perilous that many Frenchmen consider it untenable.

Whether drifting Rightward, as in the Fascist riots of February 6, 1934, or Leftward, as in the period following the Popular Front elections of 1936, France, discouraged and disheartened, seemed to be awaiting the shackles of dictatorship with outstretched wrists. But both experiments were abortive. So far no attempts have been made against the French citizen's freedom to think as he pleases and his right to belong to the party of his choice.

Those foreigners who came to Paris last fall found that France has not lost the happy and carefree atmosphere so dear to all who like to express themselves without the lurking fear that the persons whom they are addressing are secret government agents. But that atmosphere is not maintained without danger and risk. Liberty, dear Liberty, what a price you cost! I only wish our friends could realize what heroism is required to make a stand for personal liberty, although it may well be that our stand represents nothing more than heroic folly. The last Europeans to remain free of the iron hand of dictatorship, face to face with powers militarized and regimented body and soul, we feel weak and helpless to the point where we are tempted to betray what we cherish above all things: liberty. For what is the good of holding on to our liberty for a while longer if we shall end by becoming the slaves of those who are already slaves? How long can we remain faithful to a liberty that may prove our death-blow?

Liberty may become the most formidable weapon of our totalitarian enemies since it allows every Frenchman who is hostile to democratic institutions to fight us from within by fair means or foul. We do not mean to cast aspersions on French admirers of strong governments, who are perfectly logical in demanding a liberty that they would deny others in accordance with their principles. Yes, we affirm that good Frenchmen have the right to admire the political institutions of dictator nations; they are free to do all in their power to make us adopt these institutions, whatever their costs.

On the basis of the perils to which democracy subjects us, they maintain that we must dismantle the popular state regardless of the means. The misfortune is that, in spite of themselves, many Frenchmen admire with their heart and soul the enemy that threatens us.

This phenomenon is new neither to France, nor to any other nation. There is no European country whose history does not bear traces of a sentimental influence exercised by the enemy. France herself has often played abroad a similar part, but she has also been friendly to those whom she fought in the field. From the Hundred Years' War to the Civil and Religious Wars of the seventeenth century, from the Catholic League to the Fronde, the enemy has always had its inno-

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cent admirers among us, not to mention actual traitors.

The love that many eighteenth-century Frenchmen had for Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, whose armies were at the time defeating us, is rivaled only by that of some of their descendants for modern dictators. One might even say that the present-day dictatorships are bound to the French spirit by ties much stronger than those which linked Frederick II with the France of Louis XV. The King of Prussia was a disciple of Voltaire, but only to the extent of his impiety and prosody, while Mussolini, for example, has found in our philosophers some of the essential features of his doctrine.

And we cannot match our methods with his except by stifling the liberty that is turned against us by those who abominate it and use it for the purpose of doing away with it.

But, whatever the price, whatever the danger, France remains loyal to the sublime principle of liberty, so dangerous to her security. This proud nation endures insults and suffers a loss of prestige rather than put its citizens in military and political bondage so that it might stand on an equal footing with efficient dictator nations. It even goes so far as to refuse to make any distinction between liberty and license. But some of its own citizens, enemies of democracy, do establish a dichotomy between the legal state and the real state, which permits them, conscientiously and in good faith, to fire on one without wounding the other—or so they believe!

This nation must seem pitifully weak to you. Yet think how much strength is required to resist the temptation of resorting to force? Her mission today, in a world blighted by dictatorships, is to preserve a certain concept of the free individual, respect for his potentialities and the acknowledgment of what even a humble life is worth. In the Europe of 1937, irreligious and rationalist France is unique in attaching so much value to the individual human soul. She is paying an almost impossible price for her attachment to a Credo which is at once humanist and Christian.

It is by no means an egotistical attachment. We are preaching a universal doctrine, not by word of mouth alone, but with the spirit and with the heart. We are paying more dearly for it than you can know. Beware, however, of those who herald our decadence. You will not see our youth parading past in motion picture newsreels. But the same democratic discipline that produced the heroes of Verdun is still inspiring new generations. Never have our institutions of learning harbored leaders of greater intellectual promise. Our army officers do not draw attention by clinking spurs and brusqueness; they are self-effacing and have about them a simplicity that does not attract attention. The life of our priests, impoverished though they might be, is inspired by a keen sense of moral duty. Our students work under severe material handicaps. But all, even those who appear to have become enamored of totalitarian doctrines, cling more strongly than they themselves realize to their dignity as free men.

The repulsion that André Gide, a former Communist sympathizer, experienced at the sight of Bolshevist automatons would be felt similarly by an extreme Right-wing Frenchman had he to live under an autocratic ruling. We, the people of France, in spite of outside propaganda, remain faithful to the ideal of the free man. This ideal will perish only after we ourselves have perished.

ANOTHER CANTERBURY TALE

By SISTER JULIE

THERE are some English words in ordinary use which are like those Chinese toys I remember as a child. You were given some tiny pellets or flakes to put into a little bowl of water. And, lo, instead of pellets or flakes, they were flowers and stars. The word "canter" is like that. Very few horsemen who like to canter form any mental association, I dare say, with "Canterbury." The word "canter" seems ordinary enough, a workday utilitarian word, nothing glamorous about it. Yet it unfolds a glamorous story, once you get at its origin; the word-pellet becomes a flower or a star, a flower fragrant like the Cedar of Lebanon, a star shining with the radiance of England's Christian past. For, on the indubitable authority of the Oxford English Dictionary, "canter" is a shortened form of Canterbury gallop, a phrase in use in medieval England to denote the slow rate at which pilgrims (the original saunterers it would seem) made the journey to the famous shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket, Martyr-Archbishop of Conterbury in the twelfth century.

"Canter," then, brings to mind a glorious story, some aspects of which have been immortalized by Chaucer in "Canterbury Tales," though it needed not that irrepressible humorist to make the story famous. It has recently been reinterpreted by T. S. Eliot in a magnificent poetic drama, "Murder in the Cathedral," which had a successful production in New York in 1935.

I went to Canterbury once, not unlike a Chaucerian pilgrim, in a way, for I was "another nonne," with a Prioresse; but we did not have the "Preestes thre," neither of us was "ful simple and coy"; neither were we handsomely mounted; nor did we anticipate Harry Bailly's bountiful supper at the end of our journey. We had diversion on the way, but not such as was furnished by the Pardoner, the Cook, and the Wyf of Bath. We went the same road from London through Deptford, Rochester and Sittingbourne in a bus of the type called char-à-banc, enjoying ourselves quite as much as Chaucer's pilgrims, delighting far more than they, I think, in the

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loveliness of the English countryside. We enjoyed ourselves even though we were to be denied the thrilling experience which was the climax of the Chaucerian pilgrimage, the visit to the glorious shrine of the martyred archbishop.

We were going to a shrine emptied of its treasure. The modern pilgrim to Canterbury finds nothing to remind him of the tragic conflict between Thomas à Becket and his king, Henry II, on the issue of supremacy. Yet we may venture to say that no one goes there without remembering that Thomas died rather than submit the Church, Spouse of Christ, entrusted by Him to His visible representative on earth, to one not delegated for that high office.

We entered Canterbury by the West Gate, an ancient structure, massive and battlemented. A narrow curving street lined with quaint houses and shops led to the cathedral. Walking along absorbed in the new experience, for we had only just come to England, we heard ourselves addressed by an English voice asking if we were from "Winsconsin." Amazed that it could be seen at a glance that we were Americans, we admitted that we were from Wisconsin, thinking of our mother-house in the southwestern corner of the state. An English shopkeeper was the questioner, and he was looking at us expectantly. Did we know his son? he asked eagerly. Silently we hoped we did; he looked so pleased. Where was he? we asked. In La Crosse, in a hospital, since the war. Alas, how regretful we were that we had never been in La Crosse. I hope that we did not say that we would try to find the soldier-son. "Tell him you saw me," the man said, "tell him the old man is fine." We wended our way along Canterbury High Street, pensive.

The cathedral is the grandest in England. The site of the former shrine is indicated. But there is not a stone to serve as the monument of the saint; and of his tomb there has been no trace since the horrible desecration ordered by Henry VIII.

Chaucer's pilgrims had a very different experience (if they ever got to Canterbury), for the climax of the mediæval pilgrimage was the visit to the principal shrine of the saint, in the Chapel of the Most Holy Trinity behind the high altar. From ancient documents we can get an idea of its appearance. On a stone structure supported by arches large enough for the most devout pilgrims to insert themselves therein rested the shrine itself, concealed by a wooden canopy, which at a signal was lifted, amid the tinkling of little bells, disclosing the reliquary blazing with gold and jewels, pearls, sapphires, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and encrusted with rings, agates, cornelians, onyx stones, gifts of renowned persons who had obtained some favor through the intercession of Saint Thomas.

Nothing of this magnificence remains. I do not regret it although the story of its destruction is marred by avarice, malice and hatred.

On April 24, 1538, four hundred years after the martyrdom of St. Thomas, Henry VIII in a fantastic fury, addressed a ridiculous summons to the martyr, charging treason, contumacy and rebellion. The saint, who had died in 1170 for the supremacy of the spiritual power contested by his sovereign, Henry II, naturally did not appear to answer the summons of Henry VIII, coveting the same privileges; therefore, the Royal Commissioner for the destruction of shrines made his appearance in the cathedral. The shrine was broken and the bones scattered. (The spoil in gold and precious stones filled two large chests.) A proclamation required that all images and pictures of the saint throughout the realm should likewise be destroyed and the name of Saint Thomas erased from the liturgical books. But it was not possible to erase that name. Man's memory preserves some ineradicable elements, and England's martyr to the principle of the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal is commemorated every time anyone uses the simple little word "canter."

Moreover, the innocent little word now reminds us of another glorious martyr's story. This other nonne and the twentieth-century Prioresse made two other pilgrimages in Canterbury, in one of which we had the advantage over the medieval nuns. Like them (if they really were regular pilgrims) we went to the Church of St. Martin, oldest church in England still intact and still in use. Now an Anglican parish church, it was built by Roman Christians. Saint Bertha, wife of Ethelbert, King of Kent, used to hear Mass there before the coming of Saint Augustine to England. The Church contains a remarkable font, thought by some to be the very font in which Ethelbert was baptized. Part of it at least seems to be authentic Saxon work (not to me, of course, who am no antiquarian) but even if it is not the very font in which the first Christian King of England received the saving waters of Baptism, it is a remarkable object and a suitable reminder of the momentous event from which flowed upon England supernatural life, thanks be to God.

It was in our final pilgrimage in Canterbury that we had an edge over Chaucer's Prioresse and nonne. We went to the Church of St. Dunstan (another Anglican parish church, a gloomy little place), where, in the neglected Roper vault under the nave reposes the head of Saint Thomas More, Henry VIII's martyr-Chancellor, the only first-class relic of the saint known to exist. The body was buried in the Tower Church in an unmarked grave, and the head was taken from London Bridge where it had been exposed after the martyrdom, by his heroic daughter, Margaret. The tradition is that she kept it with her during her life. It is not known when it was placed in the Roper vault. Margaret herself is buried in the tomb in Chelsea Old Church, More's parish church, where he had prepared for himsef and his family an imposing sepulchre. Neither Chelsea Old Church nor St. Dunstan's is a suitable shrine for Saint Thomas More, but he is the very man to smile at the incongruities.

All of this comes to mind at the mention of the little word "canter." What a delicious joke it would be (on some people) to set about explaining even a small part of the "Catholicisms" in our culture. Some day I'm going to collect them all in an erudite paper entitled "Anno Domini."

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READY-ANSWER PHILOSOPHY

By FRANK VERITY

AMID all the contemporary criticism of college and university education many Catholics seem inclined to sit back and say, "I told you so." They are all the more apt to do this because much of the criticism is now coming from within the citadels themselves of secular learning. Men like Hutchins and Mortimer J. Adler, president and professor respectively of the University of Chicago, are creating a furore among their colleagues throughout the country by their insistence on the value of tradition in education.

But Catholics are much mistaken if they think that thereby President Hutchins would give his approval to the actual set-up of Catholic college education in America. Indeed he expressed himself in no uncertain terms not so long ago when he charged Catholic educators with doing nothing better for the past twenty years than imitating the mistakes of their secular competitors. That is a negative way of saying that Catholic education itself has departed from tradition too.

I intend to add a small, thin voice to this lament in the course of the following paragraphs, assuming all the time that philosophy should be the backbone of a Catholic college course. I shall try to make the point that a dominant weakness of ours lies in the breakdown of the teaching of philosophy. It will be obvious that the following remarks come not from a trained philosopher, but nevertheless may not be without merit inasmuch as the writer was "exposed" to a course in philosophy during his four-year stay at a Catholic college, from which he was graduated in due time.

Looking back, my main impression is that philosophy was greatly mishandled at the college I attended, despite the fact that its boast was the usual one: to hand down to its students the treasures of tradition. I have long been conscious of its failure to make good on that score; and now the more I browse around reading the scholastics and summaries of non-scholastic philosophy like those contained in Joad's "Guide to Philosophy," the more do I feel impelled to make the following remarks. At college when we discussed the various philosophical systems the poor non-scholastics got little better than ridicule. In fact, so much heat was generated in roundly condemning them that we students instinctively felt that the "Prof" didn't know enough about our opponents to be fair to them. For one needs no real insight to condemn an error; it is only when we know something about a person or a system that we are able to say something good about them.

Let me illustrate. One of the spontaneous reflections that have come as a result of my browsing is this fairly constructive observation: "After all, these philosophers, however wrong, are not idiots or slouches. Suppose we ask ourselves the question, could we construct a better system than theirs? If we are honest, most of us will admit we couldn't. Their errors only show the weakness of the human intellect. Now, I have essentially the same intellect as theirs. Therefore, in condemning and ridiculing them, I am only ridiculing myself. I shouldn't ridicule Kant. If I am able, I should refute him. But even then I must have respect for a worthy opponent. I must realize that perhaps the only reason why I am right and he is wrong is that I have the benefit of the guidance of the true Faith. He is smart enough to be wrong but I can't say that I am smart enough to be right."

The lesson is obvious: a profound humility and charity, its queenly daughter. Charity must rule the philosophy lecture room, as much as it rules anywhere else. But that is the point—it doesn't. And as a consequence Catholic professors are mishandling philosophy as well as individual philosophers.

It is great to see the way they condemn Descartes, Spinoza and Kant. The poor fellows never have a show; which is a most unphilosophical method. Saint Thomas himself laid it down as the first rule of philosophy to give both sides a hearing. (In III Metaphy, L.I.N. 342, he formulates it as follows: "A judge must hear the arguments of both sides. Since a philosopher is a judge he will be better able to pass sentence if he hears all the arguments of the opponents.") You can't beat that rule. If you do, you won't have any philosophy at all. I am sure poor Kant never gets a hearing in many of our Catholic colleges. And the result—those colleges may have courses in philosophy but they are very far from giving any real philosophical training.

Professor Adler in a recent book, "Art and Prudence," thanks Jacques Maritain particularly for helping him come to "the understanding of what it means to work in the tradition of the perennial philosophy." An outsider, Adler has turned out a second stimulating work heavily impregnated with Thomism, "What Man Has Made of Man"; and a third, "Crime, Law and Social Science," reflects his acquaintance with Aquinas. The conclusion seems inescapable that there must be something wrong with the way Catholic colleges have been handling their traditional philosophy when their products haven't matched these recent efforts of a member of the faculty in the University of Chicago.

This digression on the contemporaneous influence of Saint Thomas reminds me of my conclusion. The Angelic Doctor's calm spirit should pervade our philosophy teachers much more than it does. One of the greatest treats of a cursory reading of Saint Thomas has been to see the refreshing contrast his statements furnish with the positions of his opponents. Their errors seem so cumbersome placed alongside his simplicity. In a word, the best way to appreciate Saint Thomas is to read the opponents first and then the Angelic Doctor. Just as white looks whiter next to black; so truth looks truer next to error. If Aquinas gave Seneca and Plato a hearing and was the gainer thereby, why can't we do the same? And that again is the whole point. Why are we afraid? Give Kant and Descartes a hearing and we will not suffer, but philosophy will gain. And best of all, the students will get the bread that they come seeking at our Catholic colleges.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—A statement issued by the American hierarchy on "Catholic Action" and "Catholic Activity" for the guidance of lay groups wishing to cooperate is now published in pamphlet form by the N.C.W.C. publications office at Washington, D. C. * * * The hundredth anniversary of the first Mass offered on New Zealand soil took place January 10. Bishop Pompallier and his two Marist assistants set out to convert the fierce Maoris in 1838 and although the work they founded has been interrupted by wars and the consequent feeling against Europeans, 9,500 of the 70,000 Maoris are Catholics today. * * * The National Service Bureau of the Federal Theatre Project, 1697 Broadway, New York City, has issued a list of ninety-five Catholic plays, of which twenty-five have received professional production and critical recognition in dramatic circles in various parts of the world. * * * The most recent pastoral of Bishop Clemens August Count von Galen of Muenster, Germany, strongly denounces the anti-Christian spirit of the Nazi régime. The authorities "do not realize what they are doing or how they are hurting our nation and our country when they close the ears and hearts of children, of all youth, or the entire nation to the way of truth and the doctrine of Christ." * * * The Church Unity Octave established by the Society of the Atonement of Graymoor, New York, will be widely observed this year. The reunion of Christendom is the intention of the Octave, which begins on January 18, the feast of St. Peter's Chair at Rome, and ends on January 25, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.

The Nation.—As naval, military, administrative and legislative conferences continued, an increase in the army and navy budgets and forces, shadowed in the message to Congress, appeared to have a near and certain future. * * * Senate and House conferees were at work on the Farm bill. The McNary-Boileau amendment preventing use of land taken out of cultivation for dairy purposes was causing most trouble and meeting strongest administration opposition. It was decided that the committees to administer the program should be elected by farmers and not appointed by the central authorities. * * * By a proclamation on December 31, the President reduced the price the Treasury will pay for newly mined domestic silver from $.7757 to $.6464 an ounce. The market price in New York at that time was $.45. * * * The fifty-first annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission warned that higher passenger and freight rates would constitute no full solution of railway problems: "No competitive industry can work out its salvation through a price-increasing policy alone and the railroad industry is now, to a very considerable extent, in that class." The report sharply distinguishes "cooperation" among the roads from "financial entanglements." * * * Publicly recorded gifts and bequests increased last year according to the John Price Jones Corporation, which has followed all such philanthropy since 1931. The total for New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and Washington was $148,000,000 in 1937 and $105,910,706 in 1936. Total for those cities since 1931 is $1,124,000,000. * * * Last year the Republicans received $628,046 for campaign funds; the Democrats, $1,294,743.

The Wide World.—The Irish Free State became Ireland on December 29 with the inauguration of the new national Constitution. Great Britain protested against the Constitution's claim that Northern Ireland also must eventually be ruled from Dublin. * * * The French Senate and Chamber of Deputies adjourned with the budget showing a surplus balance of approximately 37,000,000 francs. Rents and taxes advanced in Paris. Bus and subway fares have also been increased. * * * A fierce battle still raged for possession of Teruel on the Aragon front in Spain. Three journalists, two Americans and one British, were killed by a Loyalist shell which exploded in front of a parked car in which the three men were sitting in the village of Caudete. * * * The Ethiopians, by passive resistance against Italian occupation, have slowed down exports to a standstill. * * * Sir Robert G. Vansittart, British Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs since 1930, was appointed to the newly created post of Chief Diplomatic Adviser and will continue to be directly responsible to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. The new chief of the Foreign Office will be Sir Alexander Cadogan, former British Ambassador to China. * * * Seven Cuban good-will fliers who had been touring South America were killed when their planes crashed in the mountains near Cali, Colombia.

* * * *

Three Strikes at Monopoly.—The business community and New York state politicians were stirred by two speeches of Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney General. Apparently all business accepted his attacks on monopoly as a gage: "The only agency with the power to condition capitalism and industrialism to survive is the government. . . . It was estimated in 1929 that 200 non-financial corporations control 49 percent of the assets of all such corporations. By 1933, the percentage had increased to 56. . . . Prices are no longer determined by the law of supply and demand in many basic industries. . . . The trend toward concentration is also a very real threat against the individual competitive system. . . . With all their resources of interlocking directors, interlocking bankers and interlocking lawyers, with all their power to hire thousands of employees and service workers throughout the country, with all their power to give or withhold millions of dollars worth of business, with all their power to contribute to campaign funds, they are as dangerous a

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menace to political as they are to economic freedom. . . . The fundamental curse of all this monopoly business is that it prevents the development of the manpower which the country needs even more desperately in private enterprise than in government." Secretary Ickes followed up with a radio speech of still more colorful polemic: "Here in America it is the old struggle between the power of money and the power of the democratic instinct. In the last few months this irreconcilable conflict, long growing in our history, has come into the open as never before, has taken on a form and an intensity which makes it clear that it must be fought through to a finish, until plutocracy or democracy, until America's sixty families or America's 120,000,000 people, win." The President's message to Congress delayed action: "Generically, such problems arise out of the concentration of economic control to the detriment of the body politic—control of other people's money, other people's labor, other people's lives. . . . I expect, therefore . . . a special message on this subject, and I hope to have the help of business in the efforts of government to help business."

Far East.—Various projects for Japan's taking over control of conquered Chinese territory were reported in the press. At Peiping organization of the new North China state proceeded with the announcement of administrative divisions for foreign affairs, finance, communications, industry, home affairs and general administration. The New York *Times* correspondent at Shanghai learned "on unimpeachable authority" that the French and British concessions at Tientsin are to be abolished, although nothing was said about the Japanese or Italian concessions there. The Municipal Council has received demands which would virtually give Japan domination of the International Settlement. The Council has promised to curb anti-Japanese activity and to study the demands. Authorities in the French Concession have of their own accord begun to expel dangerous persons. Japanese gains continued in Shantung and the plight of the port of Tsingtao was becoming increasingly hopeless, with a vigilante committee of foreigners armed only with clubs maintaining order there. Chinese resistance is still believed to center around the figure of Chiang Kai-shek, who has resigned as head of the Central Government to concentrate on national defense; even in Shanghai there are said to be 100 Blue Shirts under his orders billeted with terrified Chinese and inspired to "do or die," to commit strategic individual acts of terrorism until they fall into the hands of the Japanese authorities. Canton, which was subjected to severe bombing, will be burned to the ground before it will surrender to the Japanese, and Chinese spokesmen claimed that one-third of the population had already fled. More active resistance was indicated in a Chinese air-raid on Nanking and guerilla fighting near Peiping. Through the German Ambassador to China, Japan's demands are believed to have been communicated confidentially as a basis for peace negotiations. The terms of anti-Communism, economic cooperation, concessions, Japanese advisers and recognition of Manchukuo seemed severe if not as drastic as had been expected.

Egypt and the Holy Land.—On January 1, the first British broadcast was sent into the Near East in Arabic. Thousands of receiving sets were given away previously, designed so that they cannot get the Fascist station at Bari. English soldiers claim to have found out that 90 percent of the troublemakers in Palestine are Syrians, receiving a regular monthly salary from European sources. On January 4, a British White Paper was published which proclaims the division of Palestine into three parts "is the best and most hopeful solution," but indicating there will be indefinite delay in working out any plan. A new technical commission for "ascertaining facts and considering in detail the practical possibilities of a scheme of partition" will be sent with full liberty to suggest modifications in the original Peel Commission proposal. * * * In Egypt, King Farouk, eighteen years old, dismissed Premier Nahas Pasha. The royal rescript said it was "deemed necessary to replace [the Wafd or Nationalist] by another Cabinet that would be more concerned with the welfare of the country and constitutional principles." The new Cabinet, headed by Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, contains representatives of all Egyptian parties except the Wafd, which in itself has a majority of the Parliament. There are several pro-Italian members, but the English sent no military reinforcements to the region and the new government quickly sent London reassurances of their cooperation. The new King had insisted on the dissolution of the Wafd Blue Shirts, a direct action youth organization of 25,000, and upon wider ruling powers for the crown. The new Cabinet ordered the dissolution of the Blue Shirts in the midst of short-lived riots that surged right up to the royal palace. Upon reassembling, both Houses of Parliament voted non-confidence in the new government and the Wafd party split, but the country was not noticeably aroused.

Public Morality.—On January 2, Cardinal Mundelein and Cardinal O'Connell gave addresses on public affairs. Cardinal O'Connell assailed those who grow angry when they are opposed: "Any attempt to bring class against class is vicious. . . . The difficulty is that in times of crisis people are aroused for the advantage of somebody, not necessarily for their own advantage. In all these matters the great thing we have to do, as Catholics, is keep our heads." Cardinal Mundelein rallied the Holy Name Society behind the working man, to work "with a Christian conscience" at the ballot box and in Catholic Action: "The trouble with us in the past has been that we were too often drawn into an alliance with the wrong side. Selfish employers of labor have flattered the Church by calling it the great conservative force, and then called upon it to act as a police force while they paid but a pittance of wages to those who worked for them. Of course there is danger of Communism, but don't let others use it as a cloak to cover corrupt practises when they cry out against Communism and they themselves practise social injustices, when they fight against a minimum wage and we find girls and women trying to live on $.10 and $.15 an hour. It is here that Catholic Action should come in. Our place is beside the poor. They are our people; they

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build our churches, they occupy their pews, their children crowd our schools, our priests come from their sons. They look to us for leadership, but they look to us, too, for support."

Free News in the World.—"The Black Plague of the Twentieth Century," a map showing the domination of the world's news to date, accompanied Carl F. Ackerman's article, appearing in the New York *Times* of January 3. The map is black where the agencies of public communication are controlled by governments, grey where varying degrees of censorship and intimidation prevail and white where there is relative freedom from official supervision. Virtually the whole of Asia is black, and half of Europe. Nor is the Western Hemisphere free from the plague. Brazil and Guatemala are black; a half dozen other Central and South American countries are grey, and even two Canadian provinces. At least one more important South American republic might have been grey. The nations that are white, he says, are the British Commonwealth, Switzerland, France, the Scandinavian countries, Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Holland. Pointing to the flow of propaganda from European countries to South America, Mr. Ackerman urges that American journalists and educators combat the influence of this despotic propaganda by increasing the flow of constructive news from Latin America to this nation and revamping news values in the United States to remove the stress from crime and disorder in dispatches going abroad. "News of the industrial warfare in the United States this year," he says, "has had a profound influence wherever printed. It is doubtful whether any other news subject telegraphed from the United States has been so injurious to democracy. Combined with the distribution of crime news this flow of evidence of the difficulties of a great and powerful democracy has had the effect of slowly undermining confidence in the efficacy of democratic institutions." In reporting Canada, he states that the Alberta legislature last fall passed a newspaper-regulation bill, but the legislation was disallowed later by the Canadian government. In Quebec, the police recently raided the offices of the Montreal weekly newspaper, *La Clarté,* under the "padlock law" passed at the last legislative session, empowering them to lock buildings to prevent dissemination of Communist propaganda.

Mexico.—New trade relations may be the result of the present crisis on the Mexican oil question. In his annual address President Cárdenas announced the abrogation of the Morrow-Calles agreement of ten years ago and called for a new arrangement. The Mexican President gave the United States credit for supporting the peso and the nation's social program through our silver purchases. In expropriating the estates of American landowners, insisting on royalties from the concessions of United States companies and, in general, pursuing a plan of "Mexicanization" of industry, the present administration believes it can count on our sympathy because its program, which was officially called "Socialist" in 1935 and 1936, has since the Moscow trials been officially termed "Democratic." President Cárdenas also pointed to the purchases of American products made possible by our silver policy—which amounted to $45,000,000 last year although Brazil has now become the leading purchaser of Mexican products. The oil dispute is in a state of flux. After 100 American-owned tank cars were stopped on their way out of Mexico, the American and British companies announced that they would not grant the one-third wage increases ordered by the Federal Labor Board. They also refused to post bonds for strike pay and wage increases. Thereupon that body backed down and awaited the ruling of the Mexican Supreme Court where the oil companies are seeking a permanent injunction against the wage increases. The Mexican workers contend the companies have the ability to pay, the companies that the new wage scales are three to five times the domestic wage rates. On January 3, all British and American refineries in Tampico were "closed for repairs," while the workers returned to the fields on government orders.

Lo Pa Hong.—China lost her most prominent Catholic layman, December 30, when Lo Pa Hong was assassinated in the French Concession at Shanghai. His family have been Catholics for 300 years. Mr. Lo was Chinese Councilor of the French Municipal Council of Shanghai, general manager of the Chinese Electric Power Company and of the Ta Tung Steamship Company of Shanghai, and director of various other industrial enterprises. But he was best known for his vast charitable enterprises. In the city of Shanghai alone he created sixteen different institutions and supported them with donations which exceeded $200,000 a year. St. Joseph's Hospice has a capacity of 2,000 persons and 500 dispensary cases daily; many of the patients are social outcasts and 3,500,000 cases have been treated free there. Mr. Lo also maintained the Sacred Heart Hospital where Franciscan Missionaries of Mary harbor 600 patients from the Shanghai slums. Two years ago he established the Mercy Hospital for the mentally afflicted in a Shanghai suburb with Maryknoll Sisters in charge of the women patients, and Brothers of Mercy of the male inmates. It was in 1920 that Lo Pa Hong became the first Chinese to be named to the papal Order of St. Sylvester. He liked to refer to himself as the "coolie of Saint Joseph" and made daily rounds of prisons and hospitals, baptizing the dying and bringing necessities to the destitute. Testimony that reached this country just at the time of his death told of his daily visits to dying soldiers and penniless refugees, baptizing the dying and comforting the afflicted, during the present Sino-Japanese conflict. According to Bishop Walsh, Superior General of Maryknoll, "For a quarter of a century he set aside daily a generous portion of time for prayer, serving at least one Mass every morning." Bishop Paul Yu-ping of Nanking was celebrant of a pontifical high Mass of requiem for Lo Pa Hong at the Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago, January 3.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—Negro lynchings in 1937 numbered eight, which is a vast improvement over the 1935 record of twenty. In pre-World War years

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they annually ran into hundreds. Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, attributes it in part to a new spirit among Southern churches and churchmen who have aligned themselves militantly against lynching. Bishop Paul Kern of the Methodist Church agrees with other leaders of his Church that the cure of the evil must remain a Southern problem. The record released by Tuskegee shows: Florida, three; Mississippi, two; Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, one each. The report also states fifty-six attempts were frustrated by vigilantes of the law, five in the North and fifty-one in the South. * * * The Right Reverend Henry St. George Tucker, new head of the Protestant Episcopal Church, gave his inaugural address over the Columbia Broadcasting System in New York, January 2. In his first address Bishop Tucker defined missionary work as "the effort to give to others what we have received through Christ." Pointing to Christ's Mission he said the Church's function is to take Christ to the world in the confident belief that He will bring to all of its concrete problems the one factor which makes their solution possible. He was then welcomed by the Reverend Roelif H. Brooks at St. Thomas's Church. * * * Dr. Edwin C. Conklin of Princeton University, retiring president, declared before the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that science and religion, working together, can "domesticate and civilize the wild beast in man"; that the ethics of the two groups are about the same; that science should count religion an ally and not an enemy in developing human ethics to a high degree; and that "the great advances in the application of science have often been used for selfish purposes rather than for social welfare."

Big Navy.—President Roosevelt indicated that he probably will ask Congress to authorize an enlargement of the naval building program beyond the $564,406,461 earmarked for the fiscal year 1939 because world events have caused him great concern. Chairman Taylor of the House Committee on Appropriations pointed out that "disturbed conditions abroad, both to our east and west, and the action of foreign powers in building up their armed forces, have focused the attention of our people upon the state of our defense establishments, and have aroused more than usual their interest in seeing that they are brought up to standards conforming with the present judgment of the Commander in Chief and his advisers in the State and War and Navy Departments." The Federal budget now includes requests for funds to start construction of two battleships, two light cruisers, eight destroyers and six submarines. Mr. Roosevelt announced, however, that he might send to Congress supplementary estimates for starting construction of still more ships. By comparison with the navies of Great Britain and Japan, the United States is deficient in both heavy and light cruisers. It is generally believed that Congress will follow the wishes of the President in naval construction.

Power.—In two unanimous decisions, rendered by Justice Sutherland, the Supreme Court repudiated attacks by the Alabama Power Company and Duke interests upon the government's policy of loans and grants to municipal electric plants competing with private enterprise. Secretary Ickes immediately announced that the decisions would release $109,700,000 to sixty-one projects now held up by injunctions in twenty-three states. The Alabama Power suits were brought in the District of Columbia District Court, which decided that the company had legal standing to challenge the validity of the loans and grants, but declined to issue an injunction and dismissed the suit on the ground that the act upon which the loans and grants were made was constitutional. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals found it unnecessary to consider the validity of the loans and grants and affirmed the decrees of the District Court dismissing the bills on the ground that no legal or equitable right of the power company had been invaded, and the company, therefore, was without standing to challenge the validity of Mr. Ickes's actions. "With that view we agree," said Justice Sutherland. A resolution by Senator Norris requested a thorough investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The resolution would provide an inquiry broad enough to cover the dispute among members of the TVA administrative board and the activities of power companies in relation to the project.

Labor. — The long drawn-out hearings before the NLRB on the case of the C.I.O. Hosiery Workers against the Berkshire Knitting Mills were enlivened by testimony of David J. Saposs, chief economist for the NLRB. Mr. Saposs claimed there is a concerted nation-wide drive, led by the National Manufacturers' Association, the National Metal Trades Association, the Citizens' National Committee, the Citizens' Committee of Johnstown and the Constitution League of America, to stop systematically independent unionization. Practises of the "belligerent" employers were said to be terrorization of communities and public officers, careful back-to-work movements, political and economic pressure, indirect subsidies, etc. * * * The huge lay-offs in the automobile industry were going on in peace according to the terms of the contract between the union and the companies, by seniority modified by family obligations, with complaints handled in a specified way. Since spring General Motors alone has laid off 65,000 workers. * * * The Seattle *Post-Intelligencer,* edited by the President's son-in-law, John Boettiger, was supporting the candidate of Dave Beck for mayor of the city. Mr. Beck is the mainstay of the A.F.L. on the Pacific Coast in its fight against the C.I.O. * * * The National Farmers' Union made an agreement with Labor's Non-Partizan League and sent a declaration of support to the President. The agreement says: "(1) Labor and farmers compose the great exploited mass of producers and consumers. (2) We can establish our rightful position in society only by unity of action. (3) We can preserve our right of the economic choice only by common action as opposed to those who seek to deprive us of our present liberties. (4) We are opposed by the same groups. We are seeking the same social and economic objectives and we are committed to the same methods of achieving our common aims."

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The Play and Screen

The Shoemakers' Holiday

THOMAS DEKKER'S "The Shoemakers' Holiday," first acted in 1600 before "The Queenes Most Excellent Majestie on New Yeares Day at Night Last," has at last been acted in New York—on New Year's Night exactly 338 years after the London premiere. From all indications it is going to be one of the hits of the season. Let it be stated at once that there are some things in the dialogue which offend and which ought to have been omitted. Their omission would not have hurt the play. The Elizabethans were healthy minded, but they were at times exceedingly coarse, and the present version retains the coarseness. But with this exception the Mercury production deserves high praise. I have used the term "version" because those who have read Dekker's play will realize what Orson Welles has accomplished in his cutting and arrangement.

The original play is often archaic and verbose; the Mercury producton is vital, incisive and fast moving. Yet by increasing its tempo and pointing up the characters, Mr. Welles has increased its value both as a human document and as a study of Elizabethan London. Given as it is at the Mercury we are carried back into the London of great Elizabeth; not the London of the aristocracy, but the London of the people; the London of Falstaff and Bardolph and Nym and Pistol, a London which was a far more democratic city than the London of today. In his treatment of the common people there is a difference between Dekker and Shakespeare, for Shakespeare seems always slightly to look down upon those who do not bear a title, while Dekker loves and admires them. The hero of "The Shoemakers' Holiday" is a simple cobbler, who, though through his shrewdness he becomes Lord Mayor, remains always the simple, good-hearted man of the people. Simon Eyre is the very symbol of the English people divorced from privilege and learning. "The Shoemakers' Holiday" is in the best sense a proletarian comedy.

Dekker's story is as simple as the people it portrays. Roland Lacy, the nephew of the Earl of Lincoln, is in love with Rose, the daughter of a London merchant, who wishes her to marry a young man of his own class. Lacy apprentices himself to Eyre as a cobbler, and in this way has access to Rose, and in the end wins her through the good offices of the King. But what is interesting in the play is the exposition of character and the rich, meaty dialogue of these characters. It is to give this that Mr. Welles has bent his efforts. He has given us a simple scenic arrangement—a forestage and three compartments up-stage shut off by curtains: the center one representing the London streets; the side ones, interiors. This permits an extraordinary pace in the acting and change of scene, with an ensuing vitality. With the dialogue cut to the bone, the comedy springs into life. And we come to know and love the characters, who through their gusto and love of life purge themselves largely of offense. They are at bottom sound and healthy, and though not all of them are exemplary in their actions, they never insist that vice is virtue and virtue vice. They give us the feeling of that vast reservoir of sanity from which the great figures of the Elizabthan age drank, and which gave them their place in history.

The acting is worthy of the production. First and foremost is the Simon Eyre of Whitford Kane, a lively, meaty evocation of a hero of the people. Then we have Joseph Cotten's vigorous and sympathetic Lacy; Norman Lloyd, Elliott Reid and Hiram Sherman as the three apprentices; Edith Barrett's richly composed Sybil, the best thing Miss Barrett has ever done; Marian Warring Manley's Margery, a veritable Elizabethan Wife of Bath; Alice Frost's charming Rose; Ruth Ford's amusing yet pathetic Jane; Vincent Price's graceful Master Hammon; Frederic Tozere's aristocratic Sir Hugh Lacy; and George Coulouris's distinguished portrait of the King. Some of these players are well known, and others are practically beginners, but all are equally admirable. And coordinating all, and informing the play with his spirit, is the genius of Orson Welles. Mr. Welles is almost unique in the modern American theatre in that he does not insist always on casting to type. This is a boon to the young player of today. How far this young man will go it is of course too soon to say, but it is already apparent that in conjunction with John Houseman he is giving us the most exciting adventure in the modern American theatre. The Mercury Theatre is bringing the classic drama back to life. (At the Mercury Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Man Proof

THERE is nothing new at all in this triangle among the so-called smart society set of Long Island, nor is the play outstanding, although it was given expert treatment in dialogue and story, and in the acting of Myrna Loy, Franchot Tone, Rosalind Russell and Walter Pidgeon. Actually it is a psychological study of the reactions of a young woman whose romantic sensibilities have been deeply jarred when the man she loves marries her wealthy friend. Richard Thorpe directed with sincerity and dignity, and special credit is due Vincent Lawrence, Waldemar Young and George Oppenheimer, whose smart dialogue is the principal medium of interpreting the story by Fanny Heaslip Lea.

Larger than Life

UNADULTERATED farce, with nary an attempt by producer, director or cast to take seriously either its production or movement, which is timed to a quick comedy tempo that just barely misses being pushed right over the line into slapstick. Frank McHugh does his inimitable "Caspar Milquetoast" characterization, after the story apparently met with some success, first as a published short story, later as a play. McHugh is the target of a senator whose daughter posed for a somewhat undraped statue which was bought at auction by McHugh. Gangsters attempt to steal the statue in order to blackmail the senator, but McHugh eludes them, and wins the hand of the senator's daughter. It's as simple as that.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

BEHIND THE NEWS IN CHINA

Shanghai, China.

TO the Editor: No matter how shrewdly observing by instinct or profession, newspaper tourists who go skipping and sightseeing hurriedly through a foreign country hardly have time to get acquainted with the nation's social and political habits of thought and action, much less to make an objective study of these factors. Their judgments can at best be only superficial, generalizations based on a note-pad crammed full of little interviews here and there during lunch hours, opinions of individuals who may be conversant with conditions or may not, and a personal slant on things gotten while hopping the train for the next place. Of all the countries of the world, present-day China, with the incredible fermentation and change taking place of late years in all spheres of the national life, is the one on which foreign observers can least accurately hazard a guess.

Mr. Frederick V. Williams, whose article, "Behind the News in China," was published in THE COMMONWEAL for September 3, is too seasoned a journalist not to realize this, and hence would be the first to admit that his own article might contain statements which a longer residence in China would have shown him to be unverifiable. Such is the price everywhere of limited time. One paragraph in particular, far-reaching in its implications, seems at variance with objective fact as old hands in China, as well as we Chinese, view it. Let us look at this paragraph:

"The central government has been trying to 'kill' Shanghai for some time. It has regarded Shanghai as a foreign and not a Chinese city. It has done its best to entice the Shanghai banks to move to Nanking. Its ambition has been to make Nanking, the new capital between Shanghai and Peiping, the metropolis of the Orient."

First of all, there is no distinction made between foreign Shanghai, that is, the International Settlement and the French Concession, and Chinese Shanghai, the Municipality of Greater Shanghai as it is called, embracing Chapei and Nantao and the other city districts outside the Concessions. This distinction immediately suggests an interpretation to Mr. Williams's claim anent Nanking's homicidal passion. The Nanking government, feeling that foreign control of a strip of its territory constitutes an infringement on its sovereignty, has aspired all along to "kill" this foreign control (if that is what the author means), to have occidental powers relinquish the old treaty-rights over the foreign areas here as they have already done in other Chinese cities. But emphatically not to "kill" Shanghai itself, the immense city and its magnificent port and its business prosperity. This is the goose that lays the golden egg! Shanghai's greatness is the pride of China. The government encourages it. It is the greatest treasure-house of government revenues. Transfer political sovereignty to the nation on whose land it was built by foreign initiative, that is Nanking's ambition. In no sense of the word can this be called "killing" the city. Perhaps, after all, that is all that Mr. Williams means.

A consideration of specific details will make this apparent. (1) The Central Government has of late years sunk millions into the building and developing of Greater Shanghai, the Chinese Municipality with its beautiful Civic Center in Kiangwan, now devastated by Japanese invaders. This vast development project includes a new wharf to facilitate shipping at a point more navigable than the congested docks farther down the Whangpoo; a splendid Fish Market, center of a tremendous trade; the laying out of new streets and parkways. Proudly, the government has indicated its intention to enhance Shanghai. (2) The splendid new Bank of China is now nearing completion (of all places!) right on the Bund and in the business center of the Settlement. Why did not Nanking build this citadel of its finances in the capital? Why have most of the leading government officials, as well as industrial magnates, their permanent homes in the foreign areas of Shanghai? (3) Topographically, the switch of China's greatest shipping mart from Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangstze River to Nanking 150 miles upstream could hardly be more than a chimera. Shanghai is the natural port of middle China's great import and export trade; Nanking, by the nature of things, can only remain a secondary river port. (4) Customs receipts from the port of Shanghai form the government's most substantial source of revenue. Nanking could never hope to equal these resources in its own harbor.

In a word, the Nanking government, in the vast civic development scheme it has been pursuing in the capital, attracts business interests to it from all over China, in the same way that any ambitious and rising city in the United States invites outside industries to establish centers within its limits. That does not mean that this city is trying to "kill" other places in which these industries may have their factories and offices. Nanking is developing at such a phenomenal rate (an increase of a half-million in population in seven years) that it could scarcely stand more accelerated expansion at present. The government hopes that in a few years, if its legitimate aspirations are not ruthlessly suppressed by the present Japanese complications, it will have two mighty cities: Nanking, the political and social and educational metropolis of the country; Shanghai, its commercial lifespring.

GEORGE BERNARD WONG.

THE PANAY INCIDENT

San Francisco, Calif.

TO the Editor: Though the Panay incident is a closed one so far as the government is concerned, there is much in the motion pictures being run post-incidentally that provokes critical comment.

Above all, since, the affair, charged as it was with so much dynamite threatening amicable relations, is a closed one, why are the pictures being shown at all? Common sense would dictate that they be edited out until the atmosphere is cleared and antipathies quieted. But then they would no longer be news!

Are all government vessels in Chinese waters conspicuously (?) marked by such medium-sized flags laid out flat against a white tarpaulin awning? Airplanes travel-

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ing at the speed they do would not make out the flags as such if their splurge would be recognized at all.

Are news photographers aboard all government vessels in the war area? Or, was the alert correspondent prepared for an "incident"—and the officers of the Panay too—in view of the fact that it was convoying a fleet of Standard Oil tankers toward if not to a besieged city?

The pictures include a space of two and a half hours. The "shots" of a motor boat drawing alongside immediately before the incident show its flag to be hanging limp; that at the stern of the Panay (vividly portraying its identity) is waving briskly. Scenes of the Panay at a distance before the bombing are against a clear background; those of the sinking vessel are encompassed in a haze. Initial shots of stretcher-borne wounded show them being carried by eight (white?) men; later the poles are more elongated and are borne by twelve Chinese. Disembarked passengers "hiding"—according to the accompanying commentary—in the thicket along the shore from the still threatening bombers are taking their discomfiture and forebodings rather lightly!

Surely, in all this, particularly in view of the tone of the commentation, there is evidence of subtle propaganda by our American (?) press in the interest of—Big Business and the "democracies," and the suspicion of the intent to create another "Maine" situation.

JOHN F. QUINLAN, M. D.

TOTALITARIAN PHILOSOPHY

Lakewood, N. J.

TO the Editor: During the recent meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science the retiring president called upon the scientists of democratic countries to "use their utmost influence to see that intellectual freedom does not perish from the earth." He urged that science and religion unite in pro- during a better world, since their ends were the same, and a resolution was adopted looking toward union with the British Association in the hopes that there will arise means of pooling the knowledge of all types of scientists for the good of the world.

On December 29, an editorial in the *Herald Tribune*, "When Science Fails," pointed out the misconception involved in the notion that the great men of science can remake the world better than anyone else, and went on to say: "[The] essential difficulty is that science has hardly begun to comprehend man himself." That is true, admittedly, but if that really was the essential difficulty, if there was not a fundamental fallacy back of these aspirations and hopes, we would be well off indeed. For we could look forward to the time when growing knowledge would make possible all that these scientists aspire to.

I write as a scientist, a member of a number of scientific societies, one who believes whole-heartedly in the value of the scientific methods and the scientific attitude of mind. *But I claim, most sincerely, that these hopes and* aspirations, fine as they are, involve fallacies which representative scientists should have learned by now to avoid.

Science studies nature, including man, by all the material means available. That is fine and necessary but, as long as scientists persist in the idea that the full solution of the problem of man is to be obtained by these means, they cannot expect the rational, experienced world to take them seriously.

As reported in the paper, the speaker claimed that science found ethics emerging in the process of man's development, since the man with the greatest survival value, socially, is the most ethical. He claimed also that novelty, creativity, freedom, wherever their origin has been traced, are found to be caused by new combinations of old elements and processes and that there is good evidence that even psychical properties, consciousness, intelligence, will, emerge from combinations of physical and psychical factors.

Of course if one studies a thing by physical and psychical means, anything that emerges at all will be explainable in these terms. Again, I do not argue with this statement, but only with where it leaves off. A purely material approach cannot reveal the immaterial, though it should indicate how far short it falls of explaining man. This purely material approach is the way of science, and we want to learn all we can by its use. However, if we limit ourselves to it we render futile the hope that freedom of thought and of investigation can be saved—for it plays directly into the hands of those who will destroy all freedom. There is loose in the world today a force which we call, in general, totalitarianism, bred of materialism, nurtured by godlessness and drawing its present sustenance, on one side at least, from philosophic creeds whose roots are in empiricism and positivism. It explains human history in purely material terms and so finds nothing higher to hold up before man than man himself. Race, nationality, state, society—all, in turn, are made supreme. There is no place for a personal God, only a Cosmic Force or Urge, developing throughout eons of time because of an inherent necessity, with man as its climax and superman as the ultimate possibility. This is the modern pantheism which literally asks man to worship himself. It is the logical development of materialism coupled with man's inherent necessity of trying to explain origins and first causes.

One does not need to look too deeply into the meaning of things to see that talk of right and wrong, ethics, the good of the race, evolution toward higher planes, are merely wishful thinking when based on anything less than a power above man—something that he must reach out of himself in striving for—namely the guiding, purposeful Mind back of the universe.

If we persist in material thinking let us get ready to suffer the inevitable consequences. Present-day science has just escaped from the revolving squirrel cage of determinism from which, for long, it could not emerge into the clearer air of spiritual realities, and seems destined to fall immediately into the endless circle of immanent thought. And so it gives itself over to its own worst enemy. It cannot escape the results of its own errors by refusing to appreciate the limitations of its methods or by avoiding all analysis of the logical consequences of its principles. For those who take up these principles do analyze them and do see them through.

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If the totalitarian philosophy prevails, the Church will suffer first because it is avowedly opposed to those principles, but science, together with all freedom of thought and expression, will be destroyed next by the very force which it is blindly and earnestly sustaining because of its lack of deep philosophic insight.

WILLIAM M. AGAR.

RIGHTS AND LEFTS IN MEXICO

Provincetown, Mass.

TO the Editor: The article on Mexico's Right and Left by Randall Pond, in the December 10 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, was accurate for the most part, but during my own recent travel down there I found that Cedillo is hardly the innocuous person Mr. Pond apparently would like us to think he is. Cedillo has been for years the political boss of San Luis Potosi, a very large state, and the term political boss is used here with its fullest and worst connotation. He is distinctly ambitious as everyone in Mexico knows and it is amazing to find Mr. Pond quoting him as saying he merely wishes to be let alone. Quite the opposite: When Cárdenas tried to send Cedillo out of Mexico on a diplomatic mission, Cedillo said that he found Mexico much more interesting than any other country could be.

Cedillo has used many weapons to preserve his virtual dictatorship of San Luis Potosi and murder has been one of them. Indeed, it seems strange that Mr. Pond did not mention who it was that exchanged shots with the Leftists in Valles, who indeed it was that began the firing. I passed through Valles the day after it happened and talked to enough people to know that both Leftists and Rightists there have much to answer for concerning the whole affair.

This is no defense of Cárdenas or the Leftists. But to state or imply that Cedillo is spotless and a man of good-will smacks of that highly unobjective quality which seems to inform most of our Catholic magazines when they get on the subject of Left and Right. Cedillo's pro-Catholic sympathies will, I think, be eventually proven to have been due to mere expediency, and the Catholics of Mexico are indeed in a bad situation, having to choose between their outright enemy, Cárdenas, and their false friend, Cedillo.

Perhaps Mr. Pond, if he still thinks Cedillo does not plan revolt and merely wants to be left alone, will be good enough to account in your columns for Cedillo's private army of 15,000 men and the six new planes flown directly to his ranch from the States early this fall.

HARRY SYLVESTER.

THANK YOU

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Your splendid COMMONWEAL editorials get better with every issue; that is, with every issue of THE COMMONWEAL and with every issue of the day taken up. I'd buy it weekly just for the thought-provoking editorials alone!

A. DOYLE.

Books

Behind a Mask

Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography, by David Bryn-Jones. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

BIOGRAPHIES of living men are rarely "revealing" or "definitive"; this one is neither, in spite of assurances to the contrary on the dust-cover. From it Mr. Kellogg emerges—lawyer, "trust-buster," politician, diplomat, Secretary of State, Justice of the Permanent Court of International Justice—a figure of only two dimensions. Much of the book consists of brief dry summaries of the public events through which he moved in a long career, rather than a presentation of the part he personally played in them. Whenever there is any attempt to evaluate his share in these events, his own memoranda are quoted as sources; these are not enough to let us see him in the round. Not even in his "trust-busting" activities does the man come out from behind the mask. On a few pages of this biography he does spring to life, usually at moments of conscious decisions for which he would be his own most accurate witness: in his acceptance of a case against railroad interests early in his career; in choosing between political parties in Minnesota; in meeting a possible conflict of loyalties to his private and his public positions; in his efforts to avert a split between President Taft and his predecessor as President; in his forestalling of certain diplomatic moves during the consideration of reparations at Paris in 1925; and later at Washington while the Pact that bears his name was in its initial stages.

The author has evident admiration for Mr. Kellogg. While admitting the value of others' work in connection with the deservedly famous Pact, he gives chief credit for its terms to the American Secretary of State. Although almost all readers will agree with him that there was good judgment in the recommendation of Dwight Morrow for Mexican negotiations and in the reliance on the advice of Nelson T. Johnson for Far Eastern matters, fewer will agree with the author in his unreserved enthusiasm for the results of American policy in Mexico. Admiration for Mr. Kellogg's success in rising from the status of a poor country boy to that of a wealthy man and judge of the World Court leads his biographer to underline too deeply the limitations of his youth and education. Repetitious mention of personal associations, banquets, honorary degrees and decorations and his personal satisfaction in these things, which any man in his position could well consider incidental to his office, will add little to Mr. Kellogg's real attainments. Out of the whole one gets a picture of an ambitious nature attaining its goal, aided by determination, urbanity, and quick political judgment of men and sides. One wishes it were possible to pierce beneath the polished surface for whatever depth may lie below.

Since the book was written Mr. Kellogg has died. His long lifetime proved too short to measure "trust-busting" not ended, or the Pact, the necessity for which was reaffirmed in his last public utterance. May it remain his enduring monument.

ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY.

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Random Travel Notes

Mexico: Notes in the Margin, by Bess Adams Garner. Fully Illustrated. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.00.

WHATEVER Mexico was to Cortez, it has certainly become another kind of gold mine to the paper trade and the publishers. Yet there is always room for a really good thing and Mrs. Garner's book is that. It takes no sides; discusses no problems; pretends to nothing more than it is—some random travel notes, but notes written simply with a smile and much sympathy, with shrewdness and the pleasant enthusiasm that makes friendships easy and enduring.

It seems that some five years ago out in Padua Hills, near Beverley Hills, California, Mrs. Garner inaugurated a Mexican Theatre with some young Mexican friends, so her journeys to Mexico have not only had a specific purpose but have been warmed with friendly contacts. Indians have danced special dances in her honor; she has been taken to unvisited places and has been received in Mexican homes, both rich and humble. Here is also one of the first books to describe the notorious Hidden Convent in Puebla which was discovered by the federal police a short time ago and which is now so profitably exploited by the government. Sixteen nuns were put out in the street. "You ask always," writes Mrs. Garner, "What happened to the sixteen so rudely thrust out from what was all their life? I know a little about only one. She is a sweet, quiet little old lady who now lives in a rather poor home. She speaks very little, but complains not at all, helps the woman of the house with the children, and says: 'No, there is nothing you can do. Only our God can help us now.'"

Mrs. Garner is doing invaluable work in Padua Hills in preserving some of the ancient Christmas miracle plays and *Las Posadas*—"Songs of those seeking shelter"—many of which have never been written down. Her pen has a way of noting just the proper points in a very nice way of the places you have seen and of making you want to see the others. Some unusual photographs and pen and ink drawings combine to make it a discerning present for Mexicophiles and others. It also makes one keen to visit Padua Hills and meet Mrs. Garner.

EUPHEMIA VAN RENSSELAER WYATT.

Entertaining

Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man, by Charles Winslow Elliott. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00.

THIS book is a careful and at the same time entertainingly written study of the man who was for nearly half a century America's foremost soldier. While still in his twenties Scott became the chief popular hero of the land-fighting of the War of 1812. In his early sixties he took the city of Mexico and imposed peace upon that country. In the opening phase of the Civil War he was still Commander-in-Chief of the army and the government's principal military adviser. Meanwhile he had

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commanded in a whole series of smaller conflicts, and his diplomacy had soothed not a few difficult situations which might otherwise have led to fighting. Incidentally he was prominent in politics and had—unsuccessfully—run for President.

As a soldier Scott's chief points were an appreciation of the importance of thorough preliminary training together with sensible, vigorous leadership. This tall Virginian loved his profession. He took good care of his men. Himself a lover of good food and wine, he stressed the importance of competent army cooking. He was both liked and admired by those whom he commanded.

Of course he had his weaknesses. His love of striking uniforms gained him the affectionate nickname of "Old Fuss and Feathers." He was sometimes vain and pompous. His pen often ran away with him and continued running until it had landed him in trouble. But he was always honest and genuine, a devoted husband and father who loyally served his country and his God.

This book is a permanent and valuable contribution to American history, and at the same time a clear, attractive piece of writing which can be read with pleasure for the sake of the story.

One particularly humorous passage tells how Scott, having very properly gone to hear Mass with his staff at the cathedral of conquered Vera Cruz, unexpectedly found himself a conspicuous figure carrying a large, lighted candle in a religious procession around the church.

HOFFMAN NICKERSON.

Humor and Good Sense

My Discovery of the West, by Stephen Leacock. Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint. $2.00.

MOST people are aware that Stephen Leacock, the humorist, is (or was until recently) professor of economics at McGill University. But comparatively few people had read his "Elements of Political Science" or "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice," and those who came across his occasional serious articles were inclined to set him down as a sit-tight defender of capitalism. To such his latest book will be an agreeable surprise, for though his general attitude is conservative, he shows himself by no means hidebound, but on the contrary liberal and almost radical in some of his concrete suggestions.

The book purports to spring from a lecture tour that took him as far as Victoria, British Columbia. And he does at the beginning and at the end—as every now and then throughout its body—bring in his lecturing experiences, and always so amusingly that there will probably be readers who will feel inclined to discard the pudding of economics for the plums of whimsy. But let us hope these will be few, for the economics is presented in so unacademic a manner that anybody will be able to follow it, and is of so practical a sort that nobody—at least no Canadian—can afford to treat it lightly.

Each of the Western provinces is dealt with in turn, but the general thesis is that the great wheat-growing lands are now so burdened with debt that Ottawa must do something—if the federal union is to be preserved—to reduce the rate of interest or even the amount of indebtedness. To this is added the interesting proposal that England, which came so near to being starved out by the U-boats in the Great War, provide against future contingencies by storing enough Canadian wheat to last for five years. And though Professor Leacock is frankly sceptical of the Douglas Plan adopted by Alberta, saying that nobody (including Mr. Aberhart or himself) really understands it, the Social Credit party is so firmly entrenched that it will have to be reckoned with as a political factor for a long time to come.

He has drastic views about the federal system, and in quoting a Supreme Court Judge at Washington who, in dissenting from the Gold Decision of February, 1935, exclaimed, "The constitution is gone!" comments, "He was quite right. It is gone—just in time." And though the majority of Canadians are not likely to share his views about the need for further immigration, he seems to me undoubtedly correct in holding that immigration is what Canada needs and in estimating that the country is easily capable of supporting 250,000,000 inhabitants. British Columbia alone, the province which most arouses his enthusiasm, should have 35,000,000.

As for the humor, this is typical: Commenting on the fact that any force that held Fort William could conquer Canada, he remarks that the Germans never thought of this until the war was over. But "I don't think they are ever likely to start anything worse in Fort William than 'German Choral Society'—no, they couldn't." With such asides I suppose the professor of economics at McGill University used to enliven his lectures.

JOHN KENNETH MERTON.

Ireland's Nadir

Henry Grattan, Irish Statesman, by Roger McHugh. New York: Sheed and Ward. $1.75.

DUBLIN today is no more Grattan's Dublin than is Charleston the city that it was before the Civil War. And it is as difficult for a modern Dubliner to appreciate Grattan as it is for the New Deal Southerner to understand the ante-bellum planter. It is noteworthy then, and a distinct sign of cultural health, to find young Ireland—in the person of Roger McHugh—assaying with justice and sympathy a figure which never received his just desserts. For Grattan was a statesman and a patriot who broke his heart in the service of his country. Lecky wrote well of him and we cannot say that McHugh writes better, but Lecky was much closer to him in time and temper.

The years of Grattan's public life were Ireland's nadir; freedom was a memory, the last of the nation's sons to hold their heads up as free men had fled with the Wild Geese, a clique of Protestant settlers sucked the country dry to their own advantage. The Irish Parliament was a corrupt mockery not even representative of the Protestant minority. Grattan, a Protestant Ascendency gentleman, set out to change that and with the help of the Volunteers he succeeded. No one, he declared, but the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, should rule Ireland, and he carried his point in 1782. Grattan's Parlia-

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ment was Irish in fact as well as in name. Then he moved for reform and some degree of Catholic Emancipation, he failed and in 1800 Pitt's bribes carried the Union.

The entire episode took place on a level which, from those of today's democratic axioms, appears so limited as to be almost futile. The finest passage in Mr. McHugh's excellent book is that in which he recognizes the orientation of the time and despite it claims a place in Ireland's list of patriots for the Protestant Ascendency Gentry who served her. And the "King, Lords and Commons of Ireland" inspired men of a later age than Grattan's, Arthur Griffith for instance. Grattan, Parnell, Redmond and even Griffith were constitutionalists; each in turn was betrayed not at home but across the Irish Sea and force, at length, won its truncated victory. This is a very sound and balanced book of the years 1746 to 1820 in Ireland.

BRYAN M. O'REILLY.

Our National Development

American Political and Social History, by Harold U. Faulkner. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. $5.00. *Text edition,* $3.75.

ALTHOUGH published as a college text, this book must not be confused with the material ordinarily forcibly fed to sophomores, because Professor Faulkner has achieved a very readable, well-coordinated survey of our national development. It spans the period from colonial times to the end of Franklin Roosevelt's first term.

Despite the omission of the word "economic" from the title, stress is laid on those aspects of the survey. For example, the substitution of the adventurer type as the ruling class, after the expulsion of the Tories, is related to the rise of the aggressive "go-getter" type of enterpriser associated with this country, in contrast to the more sedate descendants of the Tory in Canada. Again, and following Charles Beard, the author emphasizes the economic factors reflected in the drafting of the Constitution; the protection afforded in that instrument to the signers and their friends as holders of army land warrants and as speculators in Continental bills of credit.

An unusual attitude for an economic historian, is the sympathetic point of view toward the problems of the debtor class, the frantic attempts to avoid strangulation by the use of political power to pass such legislation as the stay laws, free banking, free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, the preservation of the "greenbacks," and, more recently, the devaluation of the dollar. The acid test of this attitude is the treatment accorded Jackson's attack on the Second Bank of the United States, because we have become so accustomed to texts designed to secure the imprimatur of the Union League Club of Philadelphia, that the reader is surprised to find the arguments of the President treated as something more than rabble-rousing rhetoric.

Another outstanding characteristic of this study is the author's ability to summarize clearly in a half page such complicated material as the devices used to circumvent the anti-trust laws.

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Next Week

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE, by Elmer Murphy, is a good thing to obtain as Congress gets into its—and our—new session. The fantastic variety of life and issues in the capital, and the unavoidable unity of the whole business is the specific object of Mr. Murphy's observations. What general conception of "the general welfare" are all the blocs of legislators and administrators likely to hit upon? Where are we hanging now on the pendulum that swings from things sectional to things national? A keen Washington analyst shows how to approach an answer. . . . THE FINGERS OF LEVIATHAN, by Carl J. Friedrich, assumes, as one must, that the sovereign state is a bigger and more active being than it was when it was philosophically propounded by Thomas Hobbes. It implies necessarily a government and a government with increasing human instrumentalities. Modern government must develop an administrative service of unprecedented scope, a bureaucratic machine, an officialdom or whatever it is called. America, Professor Friedrich shows, and especially college students, have taken a great spurt in considering the problem of government personnel, in attempting to face the exigencies of a Career Service. "We must work out our problem all by ourselves. . . . Who merits advancement? How shall it be determined who shall go forward and who shall stay behind?" . . . SCARLET PIMPERNELS OF SPAIN, by Gault Macgowan, tells the story of brave foreign masqueraders who walk into the territory of government Spain and rescue native fugitives from the wrath of the central government and its less formal supporters. Deeper and deeper underground has gone the nerve-wracking system of rescue, involving increasingly more heroic and ingenious efforts by these friends of the hunted. . . . John Abbot Clark contributes OUR LITERARY INTELLECTUALS, another of his sceptical but the contrary of jaded critiques of what is smart in the literary world. Concerning those who would be our cerebral vanguard: "Graphs of their critical course over a very limited period of years bear about the same relation to a consistent attitude toward life and literature that 'doodling' does to portrait painting."

Despite this condensation, some important factors are slighted in this vast panorama. The part played by religion, education, literature and the dramatic arts in our national development is summarily dismissed with a few paragraphs in favor of adequate treatment of political parties and national elections, the shifting of population and territorial expansion, economic conflicts and crises, and diplomacy. However, the references at the end of each chapter and the general bibliography point the way for the further study.

The general reader should find this an excellent "refresher," not to say a corrective of many half-truths gleaned from the radio or college.

GEORGE K. MCCABE.

On His Own

Free Lance, by E. Alexander Powell. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.00.

RESTLESS souls who want to be their own bosses are advised against reading E. Alexander Powell's latest collection of experiences. "Free Lance" is not a book conducive to their peace of mind.

Author Powell, the "insurgent Celt," has spent almost a lifetime on his own. Thirty books of reminiscences fill the years from his entry into a muddled world, to his entry into the World War, which left the world more muddled than before. "Free Lance" begins where the war ends. Limping from a military hospital at Fort McHenry in Baltimore, we meet the hero hurrying to new adventures.

"Not many Americans, I fancy, had seen so much of the great conflict," he explains, for as a war correspondent he had been in the field with six European armies, and as an officer of the A.E.F. Invalided out of the army in 1919, "I didn't even have the cheap satisfaction of marching up Fifth Avenue amid a storm of cheers and ticker-tape," he mutters regretfully—"not that I had done anything to deserve a share in one of those hysterical receptions, but it is gratifying to one's vanity to be treated as a hero. I was sent home ingloriously aboard a hospital ship and helped ashore at Newport News in a drizzling rain."

Two days out of the hospital Powell boards a train for Washington, lunches with a friend from the State Department, wonders vaguely "What now?", and the next day finds himself headed toward the Adriatic on a "Mission to Dalmatia" for the Italian government. "It was the beginning of a series of experiences covering nearly two decades, which were to prove amazingly diversified, often exciting, always fascinating." It is of these decades that "Free Lance" deals.

To give more than a peep-show of such a book is unfair, but hints of "Man-Eaters," "Poisoned Darts," "Island of Lovely Ladies," "Door to Mystery," and a "Sky-Road to Romance" ought to serve as appetite whetters to those who long for lives of glamor—personally experienced or vicariously acquired, as through the pages of this volume.

MARY KNIGHT.

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Briefer Mention

Transgressor in the Tropics, by Negley Farson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50. All the way to South America from London, and through many countries the characters of people, humorous, interesting and fascinating, parade before one. The colors and rugged beauty of islands and continent weave the whole into an amusing and readable book, with the exception of some historical and political passages that are not up to the standard of the rest.

James Madison Builder, by Abbot Emerson Smith. New York: Wilson Erickson. $4.00. This is the story of a man always waiting to die, but who lived to do most of the framing of the Constitution, to be a member of the Virginian Convention 1776, to be our fourth President, and to see the country safe after the War of 1812. For the student of the Constitution and our political development, it is not a book to be passed over.

The Place of Saint Thomas More in English Literature and History, by R. W. Chambers. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $2.00. This fragmentary testimony by Saint Thomas More's leading non-Catholic biographer charges the English historians with the failure to perceive that upon the principle on which the martyred Chancellor took his stand "depends the whole future of the world."

The Catholic Doctor, by A. Bonnar, O.F.M. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 7/6. An excellent guide for Catholic doctors and priests in medical problems which concern Catholic morals. Fifteen chapters deal briefly with such subjects as sex and marriage, birth prevention, abortion, baptism, euthanasia and sterilization, psychotherapy, Freudian dogma and scruples.

Europe in Crisis, by Vera Micheles Dean. New York: Foreign Policy Association. $.25. A realistic analysis of European democracies and dictatorships in Europe in 1937. Her conclusion is sound: such remedies as can ultimately be discovered for the ills of the world must be applied collectively if they are to bring permanent relief.

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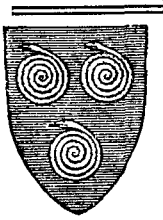

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